DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 252 270 PS 014 282

AUTHOR Ogbu, John U.
TITLE Schooling in the Ghetto: An Ecological Perspective on Community and Home Influences.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE Jan 81
NOTE 78p.; Paper presented at the National Institute of Education Follow Through Planning Conference (Philadelphia, PA, February 10-11, 1981).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Adjustment (to Environment); *Blacks; Caste; *Community Influence; Cultural Traits; Ecology; Educational Improvement; Elementary Secondary Education; *Family Influence; Ghettos; Interpersonal Relationship; Minority Groups; Models; Psychological Characteristics; *Racial Discrimination; Racial Factors; Research Problems; Social Class; Social Differences; Socialization; Social Status; Social Stratification
IDENTIFIERS Deficit Theory; Project Follow Through

ABSTRACT

Social scientists have adopted two different views on the influence of the community and home on academic achievement of lower-class and minority students. The first is the deficit perspective, or the failure-of-socialization hypothesis. The second is the difference perspective, or the cultural-discontinuity/failure-of-communication hypothesis. Both deficit and difference perspectives on oppressed minorities reflect external definitions of community and home influences on ghetto children's school learning. In contrast, an ecological perspective enables the specification of important community and home influences affecting the ability of young members of caste-like minority groups to benefit from schooling. Various responses black people have made to the job ceiling and inferior education historically imposed on them affect their children's ability to learn in school. Because blacks continually fight against the schools, they have grown suspicious of the schools; their resulting alienation makes commitment to and perseverance at academic tasks difficult. Black people's disillusionment over the job ceiling imposes similar liabilities. Various survival strategies blacks have developed to cope with their economic and social problems often demand attitudes, competencies, and behaviors that are apparently incompatible with those required for school success. For example, collective struggle teaches blacks that they are not responsible as individuals for their failures, including school failure, and that failure is the fault of "the system"; clientship teaches them that reward does not depend so much on personal efforts at an assigned task as on one's ability to manipulate the powers that be; and hustling emphasizes the virtues of exploiting and manipulating others to achieve desired material success and/or prestige. A 14-page bibliography concludes the document. (RH)

(DRAFT--NOT FOR QUOTATION)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

PS

ED252270

SCHOOLING IN THE GHETTO:

AN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON COMMUNITY & HOME INFLUENCES*

by

John U. Ogbu
Department of Educational Studies
College of Education
University of Delaware
Newark, Del. 19711

January 1981

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

John U. Ogbu

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS 014282

* Prepared for NIE Conference on Follow Through, Philadelphia, February 10th & 11th, 1981

SCHOOLING IN THE GHETTO:
AN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON COMMUNITY & HOME INFLUENCES

by

John U. Ogbu

1. INTRODUCTION

The problem which gave rise to remedial educational programs like Head Start and Follow Through is that lower-class and minority children do not perform as well in school as middle-class and white children. The gaps in the academic achievement of the two sets of children begin early and increase in subsequent years of their school careers (Broman, Nichols and Kennedy, 1975; Haskins,1980; Mayeske et al,1973). Some social scientists explain these gaps in terms of differences in genetic endowments (Herrnstein, 1973; Jensen, 1969); others attribute them to school inadequacies (Guthrie et al, 1971); still others say that their roots lie in the differences in community and home backgrounds of the children (Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965; Burger,1968; Coleman,1966; Feagans,1980). This paper deals with the community and home influences.

Social scientists have adopted two different views on the community and home influences. The first is popularly known as the deficit perspective,or what we have designated elsewhere as the failure-of-socialization hypothesis (Ogbu 1979a). The other is the difference perspective, or cultural-discontinuity/failure-of-communication hypothesis (Ogbu 1980a). In our previous work we suggested an ecological perspective because this enables us to examine the influences of the community and the home in the context of broader societal forces, including economic and historical forces (Ogbu 1974a, 1978a, 1979b). Our main point is that in order to

understand fully how the influences of the community and the home affect children's ability to learn in school, we must first understand how their community and home are, in turn, influenced by broader societal forces impinging on them, how the wider society evaluates and uses the education of adult members of their community, and how schools perceive and treat the children, their home and community. We have also suggested that the nature of these influences are not necessarily the same for the lower-class and for the minority children; nor are they necessarily the same for different groups of minority children. It is therefore essential that we distinguish factors that affect school learning of lower-class children from those that affect school learning of minority children, and that we further distinguish factors that affect school learning of different groups of minority children. In suggesting these distinctions we are not arguing, however, that the influences are mutually exclusive (see Ogbu 1980a, 1980b, 1980c).

This paper will focus on black Americans, particularly ghetto blacks, for the purpose of illustrating the ecological perspective. We shall first review the deficit and the difference perspectives; then we shall specify the type of minority group represented by black Americans and how such a group differs from lower-class segment of the dominant group. Following that we shall present a tentative ecological model of minority education. The community and home influences on ghetto children's ability to learn in school will be discussed in the light of the ecological model. The concluding part of the paper speculate on the relevance of the ecological approach to Follow Through.

DEFICIT AND DISCONTINUITY PERSPECTIVES

Since the 1960s several educational programs have been developed to improve the school performance of ghetto children. These programs generally reflect the assumptions of the dominant-group elite and to some extent, assumptions of minority-group elite , about the community and home influences on ghetto children's school learning. These assumptions may be grouped under two headings: deficit perspective and difference /discontinuity perspective. The former was dominant in the 1960s and appears to have provided the theoretical rationale for Head Start, Follow Through and similar remedial programs. The latter has become increasingly important in educational remediation since the early 1970s and shows up now in various guises in reading programs, bilingual, bicultural and multicultural programs. An examination of the two perspectives reveals, however, that they rarely reflect the clienteles' definition of their problems and do not reflect the complexity of the problems; rather, they reflect narrow disciplinary interests of their proponents and, sometimes, a quest for a cultural rationale for current developments in racial/ethnic relations.

Deficit Perspective:

According to the deficit perspective, the disproportionate school failure of black children, especially inner-city or ghetto black children, is due to inadequate early childhood experiences. White middle-class children do well in school, it is believed, because they have unique cognitive, linguistic, motivational, social and other competencies or skills resulting from their parents' child-rearing practices. Black children lack these competencies because

black parents do not use white middle-class childrearing practices.

According to some, there is a way out of this black developmental and educational dilemma: ghetto preschool children can be resocialized through specially designed programs to acquire the experiences and instrumental competencies of their white middle-class peers, and ghetto parents can be trained to raise their children like white middle-class parents raise their own children (Connolly and Bruner,1974; Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965; Hunt, 1969; Little and Smith,1971; Ogbu,1978a; Rees,1968; Stanley, 1972; S. White,1973).

These conclusions were reached, however, before a sufficient number of studies had been done to warrant the assumption that black children were failing in school because their parents did not transmit to them, or were incapable of transmitting to them, white middle-class competencies. Thus as early as 1963, a conference on"Compensatory Education for the Culturally Deprived" at the University of Chicago attended by influential researchers in education and child development concluded that about 75% of black children were culturally deprived; that parents of these culturally deprived children were incapable of training their children to succeed in school; and that there was a need for early intervention programs (Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965). A similar conference at Columbia University in New York City had reached the same conclusion in 1962 about the need for early intervention programs (Passow,1963).

Actually, there was also a call at both conferences for research into the problem because not much was known about childrearing practices and child development among urban blacks. Because of the underlying assumption about cultural deprivation, however, subsequent studies of black childrearing and development have proceeded

from the standpoint that, at least in the United States, white middle-class childrearing practices and development are the "normal" or the "proper" patterns. Thus in comparative studies of blacks and other minorities, differences in childrearing practices and/or in resulting cognitive, linguistic, motivational and social competencies, in self-concept or internal locus of control, have usually been desgnated as "deficient."

This research perspective which portrays the white middle-class patterns as the norm, the standard by which others are to be judged, must be rejected for the following reasons. First, populations in different societies or within the same society may differ in cognitive, linguistic, motivational and social competencies not because they use different methods of childrearing, but because they live under different "cultural imperatives" requiring different instrumental competencies. The cultural imperatives of a given population (Cohen, 1971)--the political, social and economic realities of the population--dictate the cultural tasks (e.g., subsistence tasks or economic activities) of the members of the population and these tasks, in turn, determine the adaptive or functional attributes or instrumental competencies prevalent in the population. Such competencies become the qualities which parents and other childrearing agents perceive as desirable to foster in children. Current studies of black childrearing and development either do not take into account the requirements of black cultural imperatives or erroneously assume that blacks and whites share the same cultural imperatives. In any case, by narrowly focusing on intrafamilial relationships, especially on parent-child or surrogate parent-child relationships (Inkeles 1968:123) these studies

decontextualize competence from realities of life. In so doing they confuse the process of transmitting adaptive and culturally valued instrumental competencies with the reasons for their very presence or absence in a given population.

The second objection is that there may be no universally "correct" method of childrearing for developing instrumental competencies. Therefore the white middle-class pattern cannot be used to judge the correctness or incorrectness of the patterns observed in other populations. Cross-cultural studies suggest that childrearing techniques depend at least in part on the nature of the instrumental competencies which adults in a given population seek consciously and unconsciously to inculcate in the young and which children consciously and unconsciously seek to acquire as they grow older (Aberle, 1962; Aberle and Naegele, 1952; Barry, Child and Bacon,1959; Inkeles,1968a, 1968b; LeVine,1967; Maquet,1971; Mead,1939; Miller and Swanson,1958; Ogbu, 1980d). Berry (1971,p.328) suggests why we should expect the nature of instrumental competencies in a population more or less to influence the childrearing practices within the population when he states that:

> One would not expect to discover a society in which independence and self-reliance are conveyed as goals by a harsh, restrictive method of socialization.Nor, conversely, would one expect to discover a society in which conformity is taught by a method characterized by stimulation of a child's own interests and of his curiosity.

Populations thus may differ in both instrumental competencies and in the techniques they use to inculcate these competencies.

At the level of social policy, the theory of social change implicit in the deficit perspective is unsupported by historical and cross-cultural evidence. The case for early intervention rests largely on the belief in the determinism of early childhood events--that much that shapes the final human product takes place during the first years of life" (B. White,1979,p.192), that "The cognitive set of the culturally disadvantaged child, the pattern of perception which handicaps him in learning tasks demanded by the school, is irrevocably cast in preschool years (Kerber and Bommarito, 1965,p.345, emphasis added). It is also based on a belief that an effective strategy to improve the social and economic status of black Americans lies in changing their childrearing practices in order to enable them succeed more in school (Hunt,1969; Sar Levitan,1969).

The latter argument fails for two reasons. First, there is no historical or cross-cultural evidence showing that any population has ever achieved a significant social and economic change by first changing its methods of childrearing. It is usually the case that social and economic changes precede changes in childrearing practices (Aberle,1968; Kaplan and Manners,1970). This is more or less what is happening today in developing nations of the world.

In summary, studies using the deficit perspective have produced doubtful conclusions about home influences on the child's ability to learn in school because of inadequate conceptualization of "context" or "environment," because they ignore the possible influences of the nature of the instrumental competencies on childrearing practices and because they are based on ethnocentric conception of development. Moreover, the theory of social change embodied in this approach is not supported by historical and cross-cultural data; nor have the

programs based on this perspective been able to inculcate the "missing" competencies permanently in ghetto children (Goldberg,1971; Ogbu, 1978a).

Difference/Discontinuity Perspective:

From the late 1960s some researchers, especially some minorities have proposed an alternative view which may be designated as a difference or discontinuity perspective. These social scientists argue that minority groups have their own cultures; that minority cultures embody different childrearing practices which inculcate minority-groups' distinct instrumental competencies; and that minority children probably fail in school because schools do not recognize and utilize their competencies for teaching, learning and testing (Boykin,1978; Gibson,1976; Ramirez and Castenada,1974, 1975; Wright, 1970).

Some have made serious efforts to show that there exist distinct minority cultures, such as a distinct black culture and language with roots in Africa and black experiences in America (Hannerz, 1969, 1970; Keil,1966; Lewis,1976; Nobles and Traver,1976,pp.31-33; Shack,1970,p.7; Valentine,1972; Young,1970, 1974). Efforts have also been made to specify some instrumental competencies unique to blacks in "expressive life styles" (e.g., adaptability, interactional skills); styles in dress, walking and "general cultural manifestation," language and communication (Abrahams,1976; Boykin,1980; Broussard, 1971; Folb,1980; Keil,1967; Kochman,1972: Labov,1972; Mitchell-Kernan,1972; Rainwater,1974).

From the cultural discontinuity perspective the disproportionate school failure of blacks and similar minorities is caused by differences in specific competencies and behavior which inhibit effective

communication in school teaching and learning situations. Whether they focus on language and communication or on general cultural behavior, the main contention of discontinuity proponents is that minority children fail because schools do not build on competencies children bring from community and home; instead, schools impose on them white middle-class cultural norms and requirements. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point.

An early attempt to describe the cultural discontinuities faced by minority children in school was published by Henry Burger in 1968. He compared three cultural groups in the American Southwest, namely, the Yankee, the Hispanic and the American Indian populations, with respect to value orientations in the following domains: man's relationship to nature; time orientation; level of aspiration; work orientation; attitudes toward savings; adherence to time schedule; acceptance of change; explanation of behavior; cooperation; and individuality. In each area Yankee culture (which in Burger's work is more or less synonymous with public school culture) differs significantly from the Indian and Hispanic cultures. For example, in the domain of man's relationship to nature, Burger says that Yankee culture emphasizes man's mastery over nature, while the Hispanic culture stresses man's subjugation to nature and the Indian culture advocates man's harmony with nature. In aspirations, Yankee culture encourages striving for social mobility and economic self-betterment, while both the Hispanic and Indian cultures discourage such behavior. Yankee culture teaches people to achieve material success through hard work, whereas Hispanic culture teaches its bearers to work minimally just to satisfy their present needs.

Burger further suggests that Yankee culture differs from the other two cultures with respect to cognition, affect, psychomotion, institutional arrangement (e.g., family), sex-roles, language and teaching styles. For example, with respect to cognition, Yankee culture stresses abstract, theoretical and rational thinking, whereas the Indian and Hispanic cultures emphasize feelings.

These cultural differences cause academic problems for minority children because school teaching, learning and testing are based on Yankee cultural values and requirements. For example, schools stress competition without due regard for its effects on minority children from cultures preferring cooperation. Another example is that teachers tend to call out minority children as individuals to recite aloud in class in violation of their cultural norms.

Burger's work apparently impressed educators, some of whom both added other minorities like black and Asian Americans to the list and used his ideas to develop educational programs. In 1974 I discovered that one state educational agency was using a modified Burger model to assess the adequacy of minority education in various school districts in the state. The modefied model included a description of value orientations of black and Asian Americans. Black American value orientations are described as being in many ways similar to the value orientations of the Hispanic and Indian people in Burger's original version. For example, in man's relationship to nature, black Americans favor man's submission to nature, summed up in their maxim:"Thy will be done." Blacks are present-time oriented, concerned with immediate survival. Their high aspirations are in conflict with their quest for immediate gratification. And

they perceive work as a means of satisfying immediate needs and of achieving limited accumulation of material possessions (Broussard,1971).

One problem with the Burger model is that it ignores intra-group differences both in the dominant Yankee/Anglo culture and among the minorities. Consequently, characterizations of these cultures border on stereotyping. Furthermore, it is not explained why the same cultural discontinuities do not produce the same academic effects on all minority groups. For example, "Orientals" described as "fatalistic" like blacks, Mexican Americans and American Indians do much better in school than the latter.

Another view of the cultural discontinuity problem is given by Wade Boykin (1980). He says that schools would promote motivation for learning among black students if they recognized and utilized the following black"stylistic cultural manifestations:" (1) an affective-feeling propensity manifested as a person to person emphasis, with a personal orientation toward objects as opposed to a person to object emphasis with an impersonal orientation toward people; (2) a "psychological verve," or enhanced responsiveness to variability and intensity of simulation (stimulation?); (3) a movement orientation which emphasizes intensity and variability coupled with psychological centrality of music as opposed to movement compression; (4) an improvisation quality which emphasizes expressive individualism as opposed to possessive individualism; (5) an event orientation toward time, such that time is what is done, as opposed to a clock orientation (Boykin 1980:9-10). A major point in Boykin's argument is that black children want to learn when they first come to school but that they are soon "turned off by the educational process when confronted with the artificial, contrived and arbitrary competence

modalities (e.g., reading and spelling) that are presented in ways which undermine the children's cultural frame of reference" (p.11). The problem with this argument is that from a comparative perspective, it fails to explain why children from some other ethnic groups with distinct cultural frames of reference are not "turned off" by the same educational process. Why do some groups of minority children succeed in school inspite of cultural discontinuities while others do not? (see Ogbu 1980a ; Heyneman, 1979).

Our final example of the discontinuity problem comes from language and communication studies. Here one is impressed by the periodic shifts in the nature of the discontinuity factor postulated by researchers to cause school failure among ghetto blacks. At various times the crucial element has been identified as a mismatch in dialect, phonology, grammar, rules of communicative interation, and more recently, it is said to be a difference in oral and literate cultural traditions (see Baratz and Shuy, 1969; Gumperz,1980; Lewis, 1979; Rystrom,1970; Simons, 1979; Sims, 1972; Stewart, 1969; Vaughn-Cooke, 1980).

We have indicated elsewhere (Ogbu,1980a , 1980c) our reservations about the language and communication mismatch hypothesis. The point to stress here is that the explanation of black children's academic failures in terms of a mismatch in rules of communication and interaction or in terms of oral cultural tradition has been arrived at without the benefit of a turly comparative data. This explanation is based on research on one type of minority group we have designated as <u>castelike minorities</u> (Ogbu 1978a; see next section). The mismatch hypothesis has not been applied to immigrant minorities

and other groups who differ from public school teachers in communicative strategies, interpretations of situational meanings, rules of interaction and literate tradition and yet are more successful in school than black Americans.

The need for a more adequate comparative data is also suggested by events in other societies: (1) In Britain "West Indians" are said to be more similar to the Anglo British in language and culture than are other "colored immigrants" (e.g., Africans, Bangladeshers, Indians, Pakistanis,etc.). Thus,it would be expected that West Indians share to a greater degree with the British communicative etiquette and related behavior. However, West Indians are the least academically successful in school among the colored immigrants (Ogbu,1978a;Rose, 1969).(2) In New Zealand immigrant Polynesians from other islands tend to do better in school than the indigenous castelike Maoris, although both Polynesian groups are more similar to one another in language and culture than is either to the dominant Pakeha or whites who make up the teaching force (Huntsman,1979; Ogbu,1978a). (3) The contrasting school experiences of the Buraku outcastes in Japan and in the United States are even more instructive. In Japan Buraku children continue massively to perform academically lower than the dominant Ippan children. But in the United States where the Buraku and the Ippan are treated alike by the American people, government and schools, the Buraku do just as well in school as the Ippan (DeVos 1973; Ito,1967' Ogbu, 1978a).

In summary, the deficit perspective is correct in observing that minority children do not come to school equipped with white middle-class skills. But it is incorrrect in asserting that the children lack these skills because minority parents do not know how

tc raise their children like white middle-class parents raise their own children. A more correct interpretation is given by the discontinuity proponents, namely, that minority parents competently raise their children to acquire competencies or skills which are adaptive within their own cultures. However, neither group provides a satisfactory explanation of the linkage between minority children's background and subsequent school failure. The deficit perspective asserts that minority children fail because they lack white middle-class skills required for successful classroom teaching and learning; the discontinuity perspective asserts that minority children fail because schools do not recognize and utilize their skills. Both assertions do not stand the test of cross-cultural data because there are some minority groups who do well in American public schools (a) even though their children are not brought up like white middle-class American children, and (b) even though their children come to school with skills different from those of their white middle-class peers.

The Chinese Americans are a case in point. In contrast to white middle-class American parents who stress independence and autonomy for their children (Rosen, 1969), Chinese American parents emphasize subordination, obedience and respect for elders and authority figures (Coolidge,1969:343-47; Fong,1973:117; Tow,1923:77). Moreover, whereas Western psychologists assert that proper learning style involves observation, analysis and comprehension, the Chinese learning style emphasizes external forms and rote memorization (Hsu,1971; Kingston, 1977, p.26; Ogbu, 1978b).

Why do some minority groups transcend their "deficits" and "differences" to learn more or less successfully in the public schools while other minority groups do not? One of the arguements

of this paper is that one of the preconditions for a minority group to be characterized by persistent massive school failure is a particular kind of structural discontinuity and structural opposition, such as underlie castelike or racial stratification between blacks and whites in the United States.

Both the deficit and the difference/discontinuity perspectives reflect external definitions of community and home influences on ghetto children's school learning which take no account of ghetto people's own perspective. An adequate conceptualization of community and home factors must incorporate the"native" or ghetto point of view. The significance of understanding ghetto people's own formulation of the school failure problems lies in the fact that these problems are collective, not individual problems.

Furthermore, the two perspectives reviewed above are not built on truly comparative data. They focus on one type of minority group, castelike minorities, and fail to explain why other types of minorities with similar features postulated to cause school failure still succeed. It also appears that the deficit perspective often erroneously assumes that ghetto school problems are caused by lower-class status and poverty. Some cross-cultural studies suggest, however, that poverty per se do not lead to the types of motivational and behavioral problems manifested by ghetto school children (Heyneman, 1979). As a step toward a better conceptualization of the problems and their solutions, we need (a) to specify the type of minority group represented by black Americans and (b) to distinguish this type of minorities from lower-class people qua lower-class people. In addition, the deficit perspective is based on a very narrow view of"environment," which ignores the influences of broader

societal forces outside the family and neighborhood; the discontinuity perspective has a narrow view of culture, neglecting the role of such "cultural imperatives" as the economic, political, and stratification aspects of society and their impact on ghetto life. We shall present an ecological model of minority education that, we hope, may give a good picture of the complexity and scope of the community and home forces or societal forces not captured by the deficit and discontinuty perspectives.

CASTELIKE MINORITIES AND LOWER-CLASS STATUS

Castelike Minorities:

Not all minorities do poorly in school. Therefore we need to distinguish those who do from those who do not. This may be done by classifying minorities into autonomous, immigrant and castelike types (Ogbu,1978a), based on the nature of minority-majority relationship and on the minorities' perceptions of and responses to schooling. Our focus is on castelike minorities whom we suggest, differ from the other two types in the following respects. First, castelike minorities have usually been incorporated into existing societies or nations rather involuntarily and permanently. As a result they occupy a more or less permanent place in society from which they can only escape through "passing" or emigration--routes which are not always open. Second, membership in a castelike minority group tends to be acquired more or less permanently at birth. Third, members of a castelike minority group generally have limited access to the social goods of society by virtue of their group membersip and not because they lack training and ability. More specifically, they face a job

ceiling. Finally, having been incorporated into society involuntarily and then relegated to menial status castelike minorities tend to formulate their economic and social problems in terms of collective institutional discrimination which is seen as more than temporary. We use the term, castelike minorities, as a methodological tool to emphasize the structural legacy of their subordination. We are not suggesting that castelike minorities are castes in the classical Hindu Indian sense, although some are. Black Americans are an example of castelike minorities, having been brought to the United States as slaves.

Caste vs. Class Stratification:

While castelike minorities tend to be disproportionately represented among the poor, it does not follow that their economic and educational problems are the same as those of lower-class members of the dominant group. The need to distinguish castelike minorities and their educational problems from the lower-class and their own problems is suggested by at least two factors in the black American case. First, differences in academic achievement and IQ remain when blacks and whites of similar socioeconomic levels are compared (see INTRO--DUCTION). Second, public policies which adopt class remedy to economic problems do not usually produce equal results for blacks and whites. Consider, for example, the following observation we made a few years ago about the effects of the War on Poverty for black and white children:

> In 1959, 65.5 percent of all black children as compared with 20.6 percent of all white children were living in poverty. In 1972---the relative gap between blacks and

> whites had actually increased, so that 42.7 percent of black children as compared with 10.1 percent of white children were living in poverty. That is, while the percentage of white children in poverty decreased by one half, the percentage of black children living in poverty decreased only by one-third. The War on Poverty was, of course, built on the assumption that poverty among blacks and whites was caused by the same factors (Ogbu,1974bp.24).

With respect to the effects of the War on Poverty on households Willie (1979,p.63) notes the same unequal results of a class reduction public policy:

> In 1959--18 percent of the white households were headed by individuals who were below the official poverty level compared to 56 percent of the households headed by blacks and other races. In 1976, nearly two decades later, the proportion of the poor whites had dropped to the low level of 9 percent. However, blacks below the poverty level constituted 29 percent of their total race. In 1959, blacks below the poverty level were three times greater than the proportion of poor whites; seventeen years later the ratio was the same (see also Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract,1977,p.454).

Similar disproportionate results have been observed with respect to life expectancy, education and employment (Fein,1965).

We therefore intend to use caste and castelike as analytic concepts to describe a stratification system which differs from class stratification with regard to (1) closure, (2) affiliation, (3) status

summation, (4) social mobility, and (5) cognitive orientation.

(1,2) Class stratification is based on economic relations, an acquired characteristic, whereas caste stratification is based on "status honor," regarded as an inborn quality (Berreman 1977). Social classes are more or less permanent entities but have no clear boundaries; nor is their membership necessarily permanent because people are continually moving into and out of them. Furthermore, children of inter-class marriage can affiliate with the class of either parent. Castes, on the other hand, are permanently hierarchically organized into more or less endogamous groups, clearly bounded, publicly recognized and named. Inter-caste marriage is often prohibited, but where it is allowed there is usually a formal or informal rule as to which parents' group the children must belong: in contemporary United States, for example, the rule is that any child of known black-white mating is automatically defined as black. In very rare cases do some "blacks" covertly become "whites" through the painful and noninstitutionalized process of "passing."

(3) In a class stratification, occupational and political positions are often based on training (e.g., formal education) and ability. This is much less so for caste and racial minorities because of a job ceiling and other barriers. This situation explains why the minorities are preoccupied with "civil rights" struggle for equal social, economic and political opportunities.

(4) Vertical social mobility is built into class stratification and the means of achieving it is usually prescribed. Mobility from one social stratum to the next is prohibited in a castelike or racial stratification.

(5) Class and caste groups also differ in cognitive orientation

(Berreman, 1977). Specifically, castelike minorities do not accept their low social, political and occupational status as legitimate outcomes of their individual failures and misfortunes, whereas lower-class members of the dominant group often do (Sennett and Cobb,1972). Black Americans, for example, see racial barriers in employment, education, housing and other areas of life as the primary causes of their low social status and poverty. Most black Americans regardless of their class position "blame the system" rather than themselves for failure to get ahead as individuals and as a group, an orientation which underlies their collective struggle for equal opportunities in employment, education and the like.

In contrast, in the United States at least, there is neither a conscious feeling among white members of a given social class "that they belong together in a corporate unity," nor that their common interests are different from those of other social classes (Myrdal, 1944). Not even the white lower-class Americans share a collective perception that their social and economic difficulties stem from "the system." What distinguishes castelike or racial minorities from the lower class of the dominant group is not that their objective material conditions are different but that the way the minorities perceive and interprete their condition is different.

Castelike minorities are, of course, internally stratified by social class just like the dominant groups are internally stratified by social class. But the social classes of the minority and the dominant groups differ both in development and in attributes. They are unequal in development because the minorities have less access to the number and types of jobs and training that facilitate class differentiation and mobility. For example, among black Americans

the upper class before the 1950s was made up of a few professionals like lawyers, doctors, business people, teachers and preachers, the last two comprising almost two-thirds of the class membership. These were, moreover, the professions that served primarily the black community. Blacks were largely excluded from other higher-paying professions, such as those of the architects, civil engineers, accountants, chemists, managers, and the like in the general economy. As a result of a job ceiling, minority upper class tends to overlap with dominant-group middle class and minority "middle class" with dominant-group upper lower class or stable working class. The minority"lower class" is made up of unstable working class, the unemployed and the unemployable (Drake and Cayton, 1970; Ogbu,1978a,pp.157-160).

Castelike minority social classes differ from those of the dominant group in cognitive orientation because the historical circumstances which created and the structural forces which sustain them are different. For example, the narrow base of class differentiation among blacks began with slavery rather than with differences in family background and education. After slavery racial barriers in employment or a job ceiling, continued to limit their access to good jobs and other resources associated with class development and mobility (Higgs, 1980; Ransom and Sutch, 1977). These collective experiences probably led to an evolution of a common perception of a lack of equal opportunity for blacks of any class; that is, the perception is that it is much more difficult for any black than for any white to achieve economic and social self-betterment in the general or conventional economy. Another reason for the differences in cognitive orientation is the forced ghettoization of minorities. In the United States whites created and maintained clearly defined residential areas of

the cities where they restricted generations of blacks. Until recent decades many well-to-do blacks desiring to live elsewhere were forced to share the ghetto with poorer blacks. This involuntary residential segregation also contributed to a shared sense of oppressed people regardless of class position.

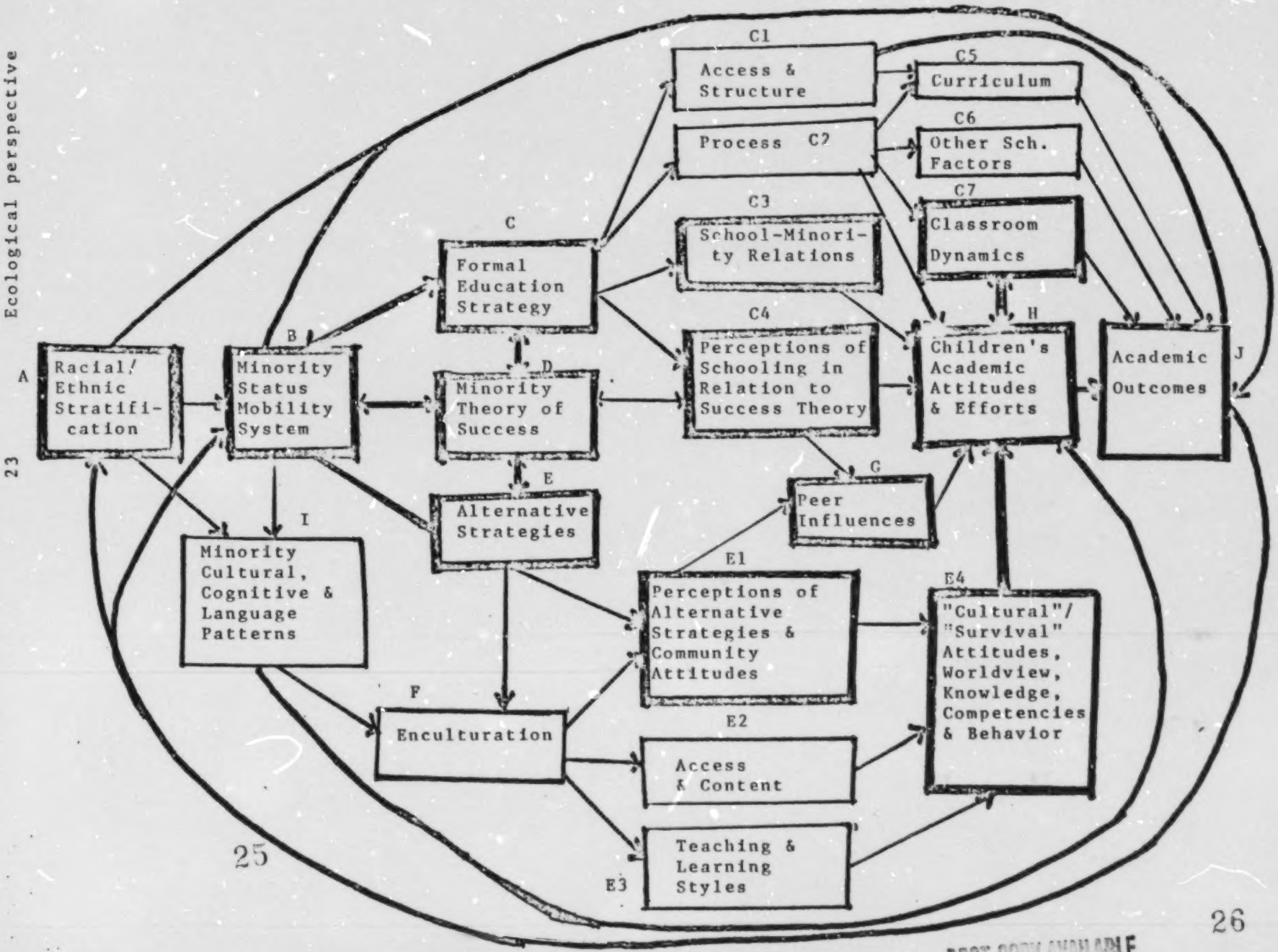
In summary, then, the economic and educational problems of castelike minority poor are not merely the results of lower-class status. They are, instead, consequences of a double stratification of class and caste/race. A white American who is lower class is only lower class and may bear no scars of a collective job ceiling and ghettoization; a black American who is lower class is also a member of a subordinate racial group with a history of a job ceiling and ghettoization and other barriers. As a result, lower-class blacks share certain attributes common to all lower-class people; but they also have distinct attributes arising from their membership in a subordinate racial caste. We will try to show how the consequences of the double stratification might affect minority children's educability by presenting a tentative ecological model of minority education.

AN ECOLOGICAL MODEL OF MINORITY EDUCATION

Below is a preliminary sketch of an ecological model of minority education. The model is based on our study of minority schooling in the United States and other societies (Ogbu,1974a, 1977, 1978a,1978b; 1979, 1980c, 1980f). Let us briefly summarize the model.

The model begins with minority-majority stratification (A) and its consequences. Membership in different racial or ethnic groups does not necessarily lead to persistent lower school performance for

Ecological perspective



23

25

26

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

one group as can be seen by comparing white (Caucasian) Americans with some non-Caucasian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese) Americans (Coleman 1966). Nor does membership in the same racial or ethnic category result in similar academic performance; this can be seen by comparing Oriental and Ashkenazi Jews in Israel (Lewis,1979; Ogbu,1978a) or by comparing Burakumin and non-Burakumin in Japan (DeVos, 1973; Ogbu, 1978a; Shimahara,1971). It is when racial or ethnic categories are stratified that persistent differences in school performance emerge. Specifically, it is when two or more racial/ethnic groups are organized hierarchically, so that members of the group that occupies the lower, subordinate position are restricted to low-status social, economic, political and other adult roles, that racial/ethnic differences result in persistent differences in school performance (Ogbu, 1977,p.2). The question as to whether the minorities occupy their menial position because of their lower school performance or vice versa can be answered in part through a historical study of a given case as well as through a comparative study of several cases. In our study of the case of black Americans and in our cross-cultural research, it is generally the case that relegation of minorities to menial social and economic roles preceded their access to formal schooling.

One major consequence of minority-majority stratification relevant to schooling is differential status mobility system (B). A status mobility system is the theory and method(s) or strategies of self-advancement in a hiearchy of societal goods, especially in occupational ladder of modern industrial societies (LeVine, 1967). A theory of status mobility system incorporates the range of available

status positions (e.g., types of jobs open to adults), rules of eligibility for competition for the available positions, and how to qualify and compete successfully for these positions. The strategies vary cross-culturally and might be school credentials, clientship, political loyalty, religious faith, kinship connection or a combination of these and other forms.A status mobility system works insofar as actual experiences of a significant proportion of the adult population confirms the folk beliefs about the system.

The way in which the status mobility system works in a given population influences the values and practices of the agencies and agents entrusted with the upbringing of children (e.g., family, school) as well as the way the children themselves strive to be as they get older. Childrearing and schooling can be thought of as culturally organized formulae for preparing future adults who will function competently in their status mobility system (Ogbu, 1978c).

In a castelike stratified society, the minority status mobility system is differentiated by two features. First, it has fewer societal goods like higher-paying jobs than the status mobility system of the dominant group. Moreover, the minorities have little or no control over the available societal goods. Second, the minority status mobility system has two sets of rules of behavior for achievement. One is imposed by the dominant group (e.g., school credentials) and may not be wholly acceptable to the minorities; the other set of rules is developed by the minorities to supplement or replace the externally imposed rules. Members of the minority community use these two sets of rules differentially according to their circumstance.

Formal education for the minorities (C) reflects their status

mobility system both in its control by the dominant group and in the minorities' response(s) to it. Minority schooling is usually organized and run by the dominant group almost in such a way as to prepare minority children for participation as adults in their own status mobility system, rather than in the status mobility system of the dominant group. A careful analysis of the minority access to schooling and the structure of its schooling (C1), its process (e.g., the curriculum, textbook characterization, testing mechanisms, classification and labeling of students, teacher attitudes and patterns of interaction with students,etc.--C2, C5, C6, C7) will show that schools for minorities function to some degre to prepare minority children for skills and credentials compatible with their marginal social and economic roles.

Equally important in contributing to minority children's educability problems is the response of the minority community to the consequences of its subordination, especially to inferior education and job ceiling. One type of minority response to inferior education can be found in the realm of minority-school relationship (C3). It is nearly always the case that dominant-group control of minority schooling and dominant-group's definition of minority educational problems and needs lead to conflict and distrust between the minorities and the schools. Minorities have little input in decision-making processes by which various educational programs are institutionalized and evaluated in their schools. They have no say in teacher assignment and qualification; nor do teachers and other school personnel feel or act accountably to the minorities. This situation coupled with objective differences in access, treatment and outcomes

lead the minorities to believe that their schooling is deliberately designed to prevent them from qualifying for the more desirable jobs open to members of the dominant group. Consequently, the minorities tend to devote much time and effort fighting the dominant group and the schools for equal education, instead of working in cooperation with the schools to educate their children. This conflict situation usually generates a distrusting relationship between the minorities and the schools which, in turn, affects minority children's attitudes and behaviors in school.

Another response of the minorities which directly affects older children is the evolved theory of success (D). Minorities perceive adult opportunities as limited by a job ceiling. And they tend to believe that because of the job ceiling they are not able to obtain jobs, wages, and promotions commensurate with good education. Thus, looking back at a long history of systematic exclusion from equitable distribution of educational rewards, the minorities may become disillusioned about the real value of schooling. The disillusionment may discourage them from developing a tradition or norm of perseverance and other habits that promote high academic achievement. On the other side, the disillusionment may generate among the minorities a different academic norm which may be summed up in the maxim: "What's the use of trying?" (Shack,1970). This latter type of attitude and behavior toward academic work eventually become a part of the "culture" of the minorities, acquired by children, particularly as they get old enough to understand the nature of their group's status mobility system.

Furthermore, because of a history of systematic exclusion from

equitable distribution of societal rewards based on education and other dominant-group criteria, castelike minorities may develop alternative strategies for self-advancement (E). The alternative strategies may receive varying approval in the minority community, may be accessible to some members or to everyone, and may be used to exploit opportunities only within the minority community or may also be used in the wider society. The attitudes, knowledge, skills and rules of behavior for achievement required by the alternative strategies are often not congruent with those required for dominant-group school teaching and learning. Minority children usually begin to learn the alternative strategies during preschool years as a part of their normal developmental tasks in the context of their culture. The alternative strategies are learned partly from parents and other older members of the family, although not necessarily deliberately. Children may also learn these strategies through their experiences in the church, the street, and even at school (Ogbu, 1980h). Because minority children begin to learn these alternative strategies at preschool they may begin school with potential for academic difficulties. But the extent to which the alternative strategies adversely affect their ability to learn depends partly on how the minority community, particularly its younger segment, evaluate the strategies against school credentials and other criteria advocated by the dominant group, evaluated--that is, in terms of past and current opportunity structure (E1). Not all minority children will have equal opportunity to learn the alternative strategies (E2), so that their effects are not likely to be equally distributed in the community. The way the strategies are taught and learned (E3) may also have some advser effects on children's school attitudes and efforts (E4).

Peer pressures (G) can either promote competition for good academic work or discourage it. Among castelike minorities the latter situation often prevails partly because of disillusionment about the real value of schooling in the face of a job ceiling and partly because of perceptions of alternative strategies as more feasible routes to desired material goods and prestige.

Finally, we consider minority cultural, cognitive and linguistic or communicative repertoires (I). Minority groups like other people in culture contact situation can, under appropriate circumstance, acquire new cultural, cognitive and communicative skills that lead to school success when their own are not applicable. However, under structured inequality and structural opposition where the minorities and the dominant group do not share the same theory of status mobility, the minorities may either resist"acculturation" or become "bicultural" in a peculiar way under which they tend to elaborate their own cultural, cognitive and communicative competencies in opposition to the dominant group's whenever they feel their identity and security threatened.

The central point of the ecological model is that the minorities actively respond to their circumstances, in this case to inferior education and a job ceiling and these responses further add to the inadequacy of their schooling. The minority responses thus complement the control and design of their schooling by the dominant group and the treatment they receive from the schools to make their school performance adaptive to the requirements of their status mobility system. That is, the school performance of the minorities is just at a level appropriate to qualify them for inferior jobs and other

positions traditionally open to them. These jobs and positions neither require much education nor bring much rewards for educational accomplishments.

From the ecological perspective, the important community and home influences which affect the ability of the castelike minority child to learn in school are to be found in the conflict, suspicion and distrust in the relationship with the schools, in the minority disillusionment and lack of persevering academic efforts because of the job ceiling, and in the incompatibility between the instrumental competencies and rules of behavior for achievement required by the alternative strategies and those required by the school. These "special" influences are a major part of the reason why, unlike others, castelike minority children do not easily transcend their "deficits" and "cultural competencies" to learn and utilize pragmatically and effectively the instrumental competencies promoting academic success. Let us illustrate these problems with the case of ghetto children.

THE CASE OF GHETTO CHILDREN

This section will not discuss how the dominant white control of black education or how the public schools treatment of blacks influence the ability of ghetto children to learn. We have dealt with these aspects of the problems elsewhere (Ogbu,1974a, 1977, 1978a, 1979a). We will focus here more on how black responses to inferior education and a job ceiling against them affect their ability to learn in school.

Black Responses:

Throughout the history of public school education in the United States black people's perceptions of and responses to schooling have been influenced by their attempts to solve problems of jobs, housing, and other barriers arising from their castelike status; that is, by how they perceived the problems posed by their status mobility system. The nature and extent of the job ceiling against them, the extent of their bitterness, resentment and frustrations over that ceiling, the amount of time, resources and efforts black people expend trying to break or circumvent that job ceiling, and their strategies for achieving the latter objective, such as "uncle tomming," boycotting white businesses, protesting, rioting, appealing to the courts, to fair employment practices commissions and similar bodies are well documented for various periods and regions (see Davis, Gardner and Gardner, 1965; Dollard,1957; Drake and Cayton,1970; Gould,1977; Higgs, 1980; Marshall, 1968; Myrdal,1944; National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Report, 1968; Newman et al,1978; Norgren and Hill,1964;Ogbu,1978a; Powdermaker,1968; Ransom and Sutch,1977; Ross and Hill,1967; Schemer, 1965). Similar documentation exists on housing and education. The job ceiling has been raised significantly for young college educated blacks since the mid-1960s through affirmative action and other programs (Wilson,1978). However, for ghetto blacks, the job ceiling has not been raised far enough, long enough, and consistently enough to change their traditional marginal participation in the conventional economy or to alter significantly their perceptions of pportunity structures in that economic system. Nor have the developments in housing and education altered their perceptions of their chances in these domains.

Black Responses to Schooling:

It would appear from their long history of collective struggle for equal opportunity for economic and social self-betterment that black Americans have usually perceived formal schooling as a preferred strategy for achieving their goal. However, their expectations have not been met partly because their schooling was not designed to achieve such a goal (see Bullock,1970; Ogbu, 1978a). Under this circumstance blacks appear to have responded to both the job ceiling and to inferior education in several ways that actually tend to promote school failure and educational preparation for marginal economic participation in adult life. Among these responses discussed below are conflicts with the schools; disillusionment and lowered academic efforts; and evolution of survival or alternative strategies.

1. Conflict With Schools: The history of black-white relationship contains many episodes which have left blacks with a feeling that whites and their institutions cannot be trusted to treat, evaluate and reward blacks fairly (Poussaint and Atkinson,1973:,p.176; Scherer and Slawski, 1977). There is a general feeling among blacks that the public schools in particular cannot be trusted to provide black children with the "right education." this distrust arises partly from the treatment of blacks by the schools (see Ogbu,1978a, chap. 4). In this historical and continuing experiences blacks first fought against total exclusion from the public schools; then for over a century they have fought against inferior education in segregated and in integrated schools. In totally segregated Southern schools, there was, of course, a strong identification--and therefore cooperatioin with "black schools." But the effectiveness of this

cooperation in fostering more academic learning and higher school performance was undermined by a simultaneous conscious and unconscious rejection of the same schools as inferior to "white schools" and, hence, the need to fight for desegregation and integration (Clement, 1980; Collins and Noblit ,1978).That is, attention, efforts and commitments were diverted from maximizing achievement within the ongoing process of education toward seeking equalization of resources and for an ideal learning setting, namely, an integrated school. Within the desegregated schools throughout the United States disaffection and distrust still prevail because of perceived continuation of inferior education through many subtle devices alleged to be employed by the schools (e.g., misclassification, tracking, biased counseling,"push-outs", etc.) and because of the feeling that these schools do not understand black children. The latter is particularly widespread at the moment: it was openly expressed by many local blacks during our fieldwork in Stockton, California, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. And in their recent study of a desegregated high school in the Mid-West Scherer and Slawski (1977) report that local blacks tended to interprete low school performance of black males as due to the inability of the schools to "relate to black males in ways that will help them learn."

Not only does distrust reduce the degree of parental and pupil acceptance of the goals, standardard and techniques of the school, and, hence, reduce their desire for cooperation with the schools, but it also forces the schools into defensive approaches to blacks in the forms of control, paternalism or both, or even drive the schools into "contest" with ghetto parents and children. All these divert

attention of both blacks and the schools from the real task of educating black children (see Foster, 1974,p.6; Ogbu,1974a, pp.56-57; 142-169; Scherer and Slawski 1977; Silverstein and Krate, 1975, p.219).

Blacks do not always express their conflict and distrust in open confrontation. They may do so by withdrawal from contacting schools and in being indifferent in their attitudes. The conflict may be expressed at the level of community-school relations, parent-teacher relations, pupil-school relations, and pupil-teacher relations. Thus black communities sue school districts in state or federal courts for various violations of their educational rights and they protest against particular schools or their personnel; black parents are involved in similar confrontations and black pupils are disproportionately represented among "problem" or "discipline" cases.

Whether black response is confrontation, withdrawal or indifferent, the school performance consequence is the same: blacks and the schools being hostile to and mutually suspicious of one another, do not agree as to what constitutes appropriate education for children and how best to achieve it and they do not work cooperatively to achieve the goal of educating the children. In contrast, white middle-class parents and children often see completion of school tasks and meeting schools' standards as necessary, desirable, and compatible with their own goals. They tend to behave in a way that would result in teachers giving them grades or evaluating the children so as to continue their education beyond the public schools. Ghetto parents and children may, on the other hand, interprete the demands of the schools as deception or an unnecessary imposition incompatible with their "real educational needs."

2. Job Ceiling, Disillusionment And Lack Of Effort Optimism: There has not been a systematic study of how blacks perceive or feel about the job ceiling; nor has there been an attempt to determine how their perceptions of the job ceiling affect their responses to schooling. Evidence gathered from various sources show, however, that blacks differ from whites in how they perceive their educational and job experiences. We have already referred to the documentation of their frustrations and their efforts to break or circumvent the job ceiling. We may now speculate on the effects of their perceptions of the job ceiling on their perceptions of schooling and subsequent school behavior, by comparing black and white experiences.

Shack (1970) has suggested that the absence of a job ceiling which has allowed white Americans to receive adequate payoffs for their educational efforts has enabled whites to develop an "effort optimism" toward schoolwork. That is, because white people have historically found jobs, and received wages and promotions on the job proportional to their education and individual ability, they have developed the maxim, "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again." the contrary experience of black Americans has taught them that jobs, wages and promotions are not based on education and individual ability; consequently, some blacks have developed a different maxim, "What's the use of trying?" (see also Dollard, 1957; Frazier, 1940; Ogbu, 1974a, 1977; Schulz,1969).

Ghetto children learn about the job ceiling quite early in life, frist from their parents, older siblings, relatives and other adults around them (Ogbu,1974a, p.100). They also learn about it from observing public demonstrations by blacks for more jobs and better

wages and from reports in the mass media. In this way even very young ghetto children begin to realize that for black people the connection between school success and one's ability to get ahead or to get a good job is dismal, not as good as the white's. And as they get older and experience personal frustrations in looking for part-time or summer jobs, their unfavorable perceptions and interpretations of their future opportunities relative to white opportunities become even more crystalized and discouraging. Although their perceptions and interpretations may be incorrect, such as that employment opportunities are unlimited for their white peers, their unfavorable comparison leads to increasing disllusionment about their future and doubts about the value of schooling (Ogbu,1974a,p.100; see also Frazier,1940,pp.134-37; Schulz,1969,p.159; Powdermaker,1968,p.321).

As their disillusionment grows ghetto children more and more begin to ignore their parents' advice to take their schoolwork more seriously and to work harder to succeed in school. However, because of their own knowledge of and experiences with the job ceiling, some ghetto parents appear to be teaching their children contradictory things about schooling. On the one hand they tell their children that they need good education to get good jobs (Nobles and Traver,1976, p.25; Ogbu,1974a,pp.70-72; Powdermaker,1968, p.202). On the other hand, they also teach them that American society rewards blacks much less than it rewards whites for the same educational efforts and accomplishments. Parents subtley and unknowingly convey the latter ideas about schooling by discussing in their children's presence their own personal experiences and frustrations with the job ceiling and other racial barriers and the experiences of relatives, friends, neighbors, and black people in general. Children thus learn to

believe that school success does not necessarily enable black people get ahead as it does for white people. Every ghetto child grows up learning and believing that his or her parents and other black people have faced a job ceiling and the problem lies with"the system" and he or she is likely to encounter the same "system" someday.

At the moment we have no direct studies of the age and how these collective perceptions and interpretations begin to influence the school behavior and attitudes of ghetto children. Researchers have simply not asked the question or systematically examined the relationship between the job ceiling and schooling. Even in the absence of such studies, however, we feel that it is reasonable to suggest that the adverse effects of the job ceiling begins early in ghetto children's school career. We further would suggest that the collective disillusionment and fatalism brought about by the job ceiling provide the context for understanding some negative influences of peer groups on academic efforts of ghetto children. While schools, parents, and the mass media and even the political regimes at local, state and federal levels may stress the virtue of school success, such teachings or preachings do not sufficiently "motivate" ghetto youths to persevere in their schoolwork when they do not believe that school success actually leads black people to promised rewards in post-school world.

We should point out that other groups, such as women and immigrant minorities (e.g., the Chinese) have also faced a job ceiling but have done relatively better than blacks in the public school. A major reason for their greater school success is that they have had, at least until recently, alternative rewards they accepted for their educational efforts which were compatible with school success.

In the case of women, good marriage and becoming a mother were traditionally accepted almost as a preferred goal to professional career (Acker,1973,p.162; Benham, 1975,pp.292-95; Epstein, 1973,p.180). For immigrants they had at least the symbolic option of returning to their homeland or emigrating elsewhere where they would derive greater rewards for their education. Furthermore, at least the first generation of immigrants were not frustrated with memories of generations or historical systematic exclusion from rewards of their efforts.

Two questions remain to be answered about the impact of the job ceiling and other barriers on ghetto school performance. First, if black people are discouraged from doing well in school because of perceived dismal job opportunities, why do black people continue to express high educational aspirations? Second, how does one explain the poor school performance of very young black children who do not yet understand the job market?

High educational aspirations arise from both historical and structural sources. Historically black people were initially denied formal education, the possession of which they tended to see as a way out of their low-status positions. This desire for education has been reinforced by the knowledge that access to those few desirable jobs available to blacks depends partly on formal education. Blacks, therefore, desire education but are discouraged from persevering to achieve it by factors within the schools (e.g., inferior education, conflict with the schools,etc.), partly by factors within the wider society (e.g., the job ceiling) over which they have almost no control, and partly by conflicts between demands of

survival strategies and those of schooling. The more challenging question is why very young black children do relatively poorly in school. The answer to which we next turn is that blacks have been forced by the job ceiling and other barriers to develop alternative or survival strategies for subsistence, self-betterment and prestige requiring attitudes, knowledge, skills or competencies and rules of behavior for achievement that are not often compatible with those required for schooling, and that because children begin at preschool years to learn these survival strategies they enter school with potentials for academic difficulties which become actualized through children's early encounters at school.

3. Survival Strategies, Incongruent Competencies And Rules Of Behavior For Achievement: As we have indicated, a large body of evidence exists indicating that in various regions and at various periods black Americans have not been able to obtain jobs and other societal rewards commensurate with their educational credentials and abilities (for the South before 1940s, see Davis, Gardner and Gardner, 1965; Dollard,1957; Johnson,1943; Powdermaker,1968; for the South from 1940 to the present, see Henderson,1967; Lewis, 1955; Marshall, 1968; A.R. Ross,1973. For the North before 1950s, see Drake and Cayton,1970; DuBois, 1967; Green and Woodson,1930; Katzman,1973. For the North to the 1980s, see Norgren and Hill, 1964; Lee, 1961; Rogoff, 1953; Bullock, 1973; Glasgow, 1980. For the U.S. as a whole, see Burkey, 1971; Duncan and Blau, 1967; Gould, 1977; Hare,1965; Kain, 1969; the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Report, 1968; Newman et al, 1978; Siegal, 1969; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare,1969).

Along with the conventioal strategy of obtaining educational credentials, additional strategies developed by blacks include collective struggle (e.g., civil rights activities),clientship or "uncle tomming," and hustling. To avoid misinterpretation of what follows, we want to begin by emphasizing a few general points concerning the origins and persistence of these survival strategies. First, the survival strategies emerged and persist because of the job ceiling and other barriers that have made it more difficult for blacks than for whites to "make it" through the conventional criteria of American society. In other words, the survival strategies are not simply the products of the failure of black parents to use white middle-class techniques of childrearing to bring up their children. Second, as postulated by the theory of status mobility system, the survival strategies and schooling constitute the institutionalized status mobility strategies which influence how ghetto family, school, and other agencies prepare children for adult life. Third, the survival strategies are nonnconventional from the standpoint of the dominant society, but they are conventional or institutionalized within the ghetto. Lastly, the institutionalized or conventional strategies of the ghetto,(school credentials, survival strategies),do not operate in "pure forms": ghetto people often combine two or more of the strategies to "make it." Consequently, ghetto children are brought up with some degree of competence in all the strategies, though some children are more competent in some strategies than in others.

(i) Collective Struggle: Collective struggle is one of the oldest and most effective strategies black Americans have used to improve

their position in American society (Newman et al,1978,p.10; Scott, 1976).Collective struggle includes all the activities legitimated by the dominant society as "civil rights" (e.g., demonstration, lobbying, court action) and others not so legitimated (e.g., rioting). The relevance of collective struggle for the educability problems of ghetto children lies not only in the fact that this strategy increases black access to more desirable jobs and other societal rewards, but also in the fact that the strategy requires certain attitudes, knowledge, skills and rules of behavior that have now become a part of "black culture."

An important part of black cultural knowledge is that the individual is able to get a desirable job or decent wage, advance on his or her job, live in a good neighborhood and so on because of collective struggle or "civil rights" efforts. To make collective struggle effective, group loyalty is essential in dealing with white people or "the system," including dealing with the schools, as is the use of the services of those whites who"understand" the problems of black people or sympathize with their cause. Throughout their history a large segment of the black community has developed many remarkable skills for fostering group cooperation and loyalty vis-a-vis whites and their institutions.

Because collective struggle is an important survival strategy, black parents and other agents of enculturation consciously and unconsciously teach it to ghetto children. Like other areas of "race relations" children begin learning the strategy during their preschool years, before they are old enough to understand that such behavior actually constitutes a strategy for expanding black opportunities and resources. Porter (1971,p.107) has shown, for instance,

that children's acquisition of "race awareness" begins during pre-school years; and Webster (1974,p.98) says that black children also become aware of black subordinate status very early. We therefore suggest that black children begin their school career with some knowledge, attitudes, and skills associated with the survival strategy of collective struggle against whites and their instituions.

Requirements of collective struggle affect ghetto school performance in three ways. First, school personnel--administrators, counselors, and teachers act and are perceived to act by ghetto pupils and their community as representatives of the white society or "the system," whose intentions cannot be trusted and who must be dealt with through group efforts. Consequently, "an attack" on one black pupil may be seen as an attack on or a threat to other black pupils which calls for a collective support of the one already "victimized." A minor incident may thus lead to widespread conflict and alienation, resulting in children's further failure to do their schoolwork. Second, the children's "cooperative behavior" in the classroom and generally on school premises, is interpreted differently by school and ghetto people. Teachers regard it as "disruptive" and punishable, whereas some blacks have told us that the children are merely trying to help one another or share some ideas. This phenomenon requires a close study. Third, having learned to "blame the system" or to externalize the causes of their academic failures, it is difficult for ghetto children to accept personal responsibility for their poor schoolwork and the necessity to change their behavior in order to improve their work. In our study of junior and senior high students in Stockton, California, we were impressed not only

by the fact that the children were not worried by their relatively poor performance, but also that they blamed it on "the system" or on something else.

(ii) Clientship: Clientship or patron-client relationship binds people who are significantly unequal in socioeconomic status and/or power relationship. Consequently, the parties are obliged to exchange different kinds of goods and services (Foster,1961, 1967). The client usually renders various personal services to the patron and shows proper deferential behaviors and loyalty. In return the patron rewards the client with help in times of crisis and needs, with jobs, social positions, and general protection (see Cohen,1965, 1970; Legg 1976; Maquet, 1970; Schmidt, Scott, Lande and Guasti,1977; Scott, 1976). The best way to get ahead in a social system characterized by clientage is to obtain a patron who has the resources and power to bestow jobs, social positions, and other rewards to his subordinates. And the most valuable social currency are loyalty, obedience, servility and manipulation on the part of clients.

Black-white clientage dates back to slavery period when the client role was typified in a fictional affectionate and loyal character, Tom, of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin (Ladenburg and McSeely,1969,p.11; van den Berghe,1967, p.18; Dollard, 1957,p.387; Drake and Cayton,1970,p. 67), as well as to the character of the Bre Rabbit of black folk tales (Shack,1970). After emancipation it was transferred to the dyadic relationship between black tenant-farmers and white planters, and later, as blacks lost their social, politifal and economic rights at the end of the Reconstruction, the clientage was extended to black-white relationship in general. At

that point in black history, clientship was the most effective strategy for achieving any measure of self-advancement even within the segregated black community. The strategy has undergone changes since then, but vestiges of the original or classic form remain alongside newer forms (Pousaint and Atkinson, 1973; Ogbu, 1978b).

Ethnographic studies in the 1920s and through 1940s in rural and urban South documented the pervasiveness of the clientage (see Davis, Gardner and Gardner, 1965 (1941); Dollard,1957 (1937); Johnson 1966 (1934); Lewis,1955: Powdermaker,1968 (1939); Raper,1969 (1936); Myrdal,1944). Some variants of the clientage have been found in NOrthern cities (Drake and Cayton,1970; Lee, 1961; Ogbu, 1974a). These ethnographic studies, especially in the South, show that not only the uneducated lower-class blacks, but also the educated middle- and upper-class blacks, were forced to rely on white patrons to get ahead. Middle- and upper-class blacks, for example, depended on white patrons for bank loans, for purchase and retention of land ownership and other properties; for appointment to positions of leadership and other coveted positions even within the black community and in the segregated institutions serving primarily blacks, such as schools and hospitals; for development projects in the black community; as well as for legal and political protection. Without white patrons it was difficult for black individuals to advance as tenant-farmers, farm owners, skilled workers, and professionals, regardless of their educational credentials (see Davis, Gardner and Gardner,1965,p.273; Dollard,1957,pp.262-63; Frazier, 1940,p.41; Myrdal,1944, p.59; Powdermaker, 1968,p.339).

In urban centers as well as in the North generally, blacks have found it equally difficult to obtain good jobs, decent wages,

and promotions on the job unless they have white support and behaved properly deferentially to their white employers, supervisors, and coworkers. That is, blacks had to "Uncle Tom to Mr. Charley" (Drake and Cayton,1970,p.387; Farmer,1968; Lee,1961, pp.49-50; Lewis, 1955, p.252n; Ogbu,1978c). Urban and Northern clientage tends to be characteristically situational and blacks often deliberately simulate the slient role. However, it appears that in contemporary urban ghettos a version of the classic type prevails between families and individuals on the one hand and public and private caretaker agencies (e.g., health, probation, school, welfare,etc.) on the other. The link is through the employees or personnel of these agencies. Edward Spicer (1975) has described the nature of this contemporary classic clientage in one Mexican-American barrio in the Southwest, though he was principally concerned with its disruptive effects on barrio social organization. Our interest is on the dependency relationship it creates: its tendency to reinforce dependency and manipulative attitudes and behaviors among ghetto and barrio residents, many of whom grew up or have been brought up by parents who grew up under the classic clientage of the rural South, rural Southwest or rural Mexico.

Generally, individual agency personnel in their capacities as specialists and as high-status persons (patrons) establish clienteles with ghetto individuals or families (clients). The patron-client dyadic relationship thus established is based on official directives as well as on personal interests of the parties involved. The patrons render various material, social, political and other services to the clients; and as usual in classic clientage, the patrons of the ghetto believe that their clients are like dependent children who are

not very capable of taking care of themselves. Ghetto clients are required, in return for the services rendered to them, to behave in ways defined by the agencies and interpreted as appropriate by the contact personnel; and sometimes ghetto clients also render services valued by the patrons (such as sexual favors in some cases). Unlike their rural counterpart, individual patrons in contemporary ghetto are not stable because of frequent changes in agency personnel. However, the dyadic relationship established with ghetto individuals and families tend to remain relatively enduring despite personnel changes among the patrons.

Coexisting with the vestiges of the classic clientage and the situational clientage in contemporary ghetto is a kind of collective clientage under which blacks depend on the government as the patron to protect their rights to employment, decent wages, and other social rewards to which they believe they are entitled as citizens of the United States. The importance of this collective clientage for black self-advancement can be seen in the changes which have taken place in the job ceiling since the 1960s because of extraordinary government supports. Brimmer (1974,p.160) reports that between 1960 and early 1970s black employment in professional and technical jobs increased by 128% while the increase for the general population in the same job categories was only 49%. Among managers, officials and proprietors, the second highest-paying job category, the number of black employees rose during the same period almost 100%, compared to 23% rise for the general population. Most black increases were from 1966, the year that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964--the basis of affirmative action programs--became law (see also A.R. Ross, 1973,p.1). It should be noted that these dramatic increases in

black representation above the job ceiling far surpass increases in their educational credentials commensurate with these positions during the period; the extra increases in the job representation above the job ceiling were made possible by upgrading many blacks previously underemployed because of caste barriers and job ceiling.

In general the clientage exists because blacks control neither jobs nor other societal rewards to be achieved through educational credentials and because they are not judged for available positions by their educational credentials or other criteria by which whites are judged. At least blacks do not believe that they are so judged. The clientage was developed as a strategy for obtaining jobs and other essentials from the white society. Though distasteful to many black Americans, this was certainly a widely used strategy before the civil rights revolution of the 1960s. And it remains an important strategy for blacks in the ghetto.

Clientage teachers ghetto blacks, adults and children, that one key to achievement or self-betterment in that part of the universe open to them is through white favoritism, not merit, and that the way to solicit that favoritism is by playing some version of the old "Uncle Tom" role, being compliant, dependent and manipulative.

Clientship in contemporary Stockton, California, may serve as a good illustration of how this survival strategy demands rules of behavior for achievement different from the rules that work for whites. The minority dependency on white patronage is described here in the context of local school system, particularly the schoolboard election. The general pattern before 1973 when district voting was introduced was that "safe"minority individuals were appointed or

elected to the schoolboard through white sponsorship. The person so appointed or elected remained an effective schoolboard member so long as his clientship was considered in good standanding by the whites. The experiences of two minority members of the schoolboard who took opposite sides on a plan to desegregate local schools in 1969 illustrates this point. The pro-integration member had been sponsored for an election in 1965, the first minority to serve on the schoolboard ever. By 1969, however, he had violated the rules of his clientship by being "too outspoken" on racial matters and by being the only member of the board to vote for integration of local schools "by busing." Consequently he lost his white patronage and was forced "to retire" because he saw no chances of being reelected in 1969.

In contrast, the other minority member who had also been sponsored to the board, in 1968, rarely spoke out on racial matters and he voted against the integration plan. In so doing he lost the support of the minority communities but simultaneously increased the support of whites. Prior to the integration vote by the schoolboard he turned down the request of a delegation representing 16 minority organizations that he should vote for the integration plan regardless of the political consequencesin his forthcoming election. In turning down their request he argued that he could do more for minorities by remaining on the board. This argument was disputed by the minorities and one organization of his ethnic group publicly passed a vote of no confidence in him. Yet, in the election to the schoolboard with white patronage he went on to receive the highest votes in a field of nine candidates, including seven whites.

Sponsored leadership and sponsored self-advancement or social mobility are sources of tension in Stockton minority communities.

But although local blacks condemn uncle tomming or clientship, it is believed by many to be widespread: in both formal interviews and in informal discussions blacks as well as whites often describe "successful" local blacks as uncle toms (Ogbu,1977).

The significance of clientship for the educability problems of ghetto blacks is that uncle toms do not serve as effective models for white middle-class type of school success or white middle-class type of success in adult life, both of which are supposed to be based on "open contest" and individual ability (Turner,1960). The rules of behavior for achievement in the white middle-class system are supposed to be designed to give everyone an equal chance and for individuals to win or lose by their own efforts as in sports. This is not what ghetto children learn from ghetto clientage.

As in the case of collective struggle, black children probaly begin to learn the attitudes, knowledge, competencies and rules associated with clientship during their preschool years. That is, at the time they begin school ghetto children have already acquired some degree of manipulative knowledge, attitudes and behaviors employed by blacks in dealing with white patrons and their institutions. Consequently the potential for conflict and competition between school requirements and those of clientship exist at the beginning of ghetto children's school career. At school young ghetto children attempting to adjust to their day-to-day relationships with teachers and other school personnel who represent to them the dominant white caste, often resort to verbal and other manipulative behavior functional in patron-client relationship (Shack, 1970,p.25; Silverstein and Krate, 1975,p.110).This adjustive behavior and attitude may be carried over

to specific classroom learning and test-taking situations.The adjustive problems exist from the beginning of children's school career and increase with age when their effects on children's schoolwork become more visible.

Black clientship must be distinguished from other types which may actually promote school and other forms of teaching and learning. In the latter case the clientship has usually been institutionalized to facilitate the acquisition of credentials for subsistence and/or self-advancement, not as a competing strategy. One example is the clientage between a white male graduate student and a white male professor. Both the student (client) and the professor (patron) share a common goal of training the student for an academic or professional degree required for a coveted occupational position, perhaps similar to that of the professor. The student-client willingly shows appropriate deferential, loyal, and compliant behaviors and accepts learning assigned tasks as his responsibility. The professor-patron reciprocates by teaching and assisting the student in ways that may help him realize their common objective. A similar clientage is found in the master-apprentice relationship, what Epstein (1971,pp. 168-73) calls the protege system. Cohen (1965, 1970) describes such a system for the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria where clientage has been institutionalized to promote learning various trades. Among the Kanuri a person who wishes to learn a trade attaches himself to a practitioner, and may even move in to live with him. The client renders various personal services to his teacher, including showing him proper deferential behavior. In return the patron trains him in the occupation or craft until he is qualifed to become established as a full-fledged practitioner of the trade.

These examples differ sharply from black-white clientage which was not established to promote black school success or success in white adult roles. Morever, in the above examples, the clientage is mutually accepted by the patron and the client. In contrast, blacks consider their clientship necessary but distasteful: it is necessary because of general belief that every black must "uncle tom to Mr. Charley sometime to get by" (Drake and Cayton,1970,p.387; see also Poussaint and Atkinson,1973,pp.172-73; Lewis,1955,p.252n). But blacks, especially contemporary younger blacks, do not enthusiastically prefer clientship as the strategy for getting ahead (see Dollard, 1957,p.387; Johnson, 1941,p.281; Powdermaker,1968, p.331). Living in a society permeated by an ideology of free competition and equal opportunity for all, blacks have fought incessantly for generations to be allowed to compete for desirable jobs and other societal rewards on the basis of school credentials and other criteria that work for whites. Clientage persists, however, because competition is still less free and opportunity less equal for blacks, especially for ghetto blacks--at least from the black point of view. And because blacks dislike having to rely on clientship for subsistence and for self-advancement, they have tended to emphasize those skills and attitudes that enable them to simulate the client role and manipulate whites and their institutions with minimum personal conflicts (Drake and Cayton,1970,p.387; Dollard,1957,p.263; Myrdal,1944,pp.594-95; Powdermaker,1968,p.329).

(iii) Hustling: The last example of survival strategies to be considered is hustling. We use the term hustling advisedly to designate a variety of "survival activities" among contemporary ghetto

blacks. Other terms describing these activities include "playing it cool," "street-culture survival strategies," and "contest system" (see Foster,1974; Hammond,1965; McCord et al,1969; Schulz,1969).

Hustling activities are also found among whites and other groups in the United States in varying degrees; but among ghetto blacks the forms and styles of these activities stand out as a definite strategy for subsistence and self-advancement.

Hustling is easier to describe in terms of its constituent activities than to define; however, the central feature is the ability to take advantage of (i.e., exploit) other people first without losing one's cool or without allowing oneself to be"put in a trick" (i.e., to be able simultaneously to prevent oneself from being exploited while exploiting others). This is accomplished primarily by playing it cool,i.e., by making oneself interesting and attractive enough to others so as to be able to manipulate their behaviors in a manner that will bring the desired results (Schulz, 1969,p.78). Hustling is a game or, as Hammond (1965,p.3) puts it, a contest of wits in which an actor manipulates others through subtle persuasion and schemes to outwit them in order to obtain money, sex, or prestige. Hustling activities range from "putting others down" through verbal contest to gain prestige among peers or among onlookers to pimping or using relationship with women for monetary gains (see C. Brown, 1966; Dennis, 1972; Foster, 1974; Heard,1968; Keil, 1966; McCord et al.,1969; Meriweather,1970; Milner,1970; Valentine,1979; Wolfe, 1970).

Hustling strategy emerged historically in the North and in urban centers in response to the job ceiling and other caste barriers

urban "work experience"--lack of sufficient jobs for subsistence and lack of coveted jobs for self-advancement. As Wolfe (1970) notes, under this condition it seemed to ghetto blacks that many were not going to make it by working; therefore those who made it without holding regular conventional jobs such as pimps, became the admired success models.

We do not know how early children begin to acquire the work ethic of hustlers, but one study (Silverstein and Krate,1975) suggests that some boys may have done so by the time they are in the elementary school. Such children tend to view classroom assignments as conventional work devalued by hustlers; furthermore, they reject doing schoolwork as "doing the whiteman's thing." (We encountered similar statements in our ethnographic research among junior high students in Stockton, California). Elementary school children adopting this stance in one Harlem school are described by the investigators as "precocious independents" (Silverstein and Krate,1975,pp.183-85). They seem to have been initiated into street life earlier than other children and to have gained enough street knowledge and skills to serve as role models for other children. They are generally unwilling to take direction from or to cooperate with teachers; they insist on doing something other than what the teachers assign;and they will not acknowledge mistakes or accept corrections. Furthermore, such children often "grab their papers away from teachers, tear them to pieces, walk away shouting:'I ain't doin' this jive!' (Silverstein and Krate,1975,p.183)." The same kind of children distrust all adults, especially white teachers. They are discribed as brilliant children who have channelled their intellectual capacity into

that denied black Americans full participation in the conventional economy and social life and through the same credentials or criteria that served whites (Dennis,1972; Milner,1970,pp.61, 175; Haley,1966; Wolfe,1970). As contemporary studies show, hustling values and activities are most manifest under conditions of high unemployment, underemployment and perceived lack of job opportunities among ghetto residents (see Schulz,1969,p.85; Schwartz and Henderson,1964, cited in Silverstein and Krate, 1975,pp.81-82; Twentieth Century Fund Task Force, Report, 1971; Wolfe,1970). These conditions which generate and sustain hustling are perennial themes of black writers on ghetto life (e.g., Baldwin,1962; C. Brown,1966; D. Brown,1969; Haley,1966; Heard, 1968; Meriweather,1970).

Almost all ghetto residents know about hustling,although only some are active participants. Hammond (1965,p.8), suggests that because hustling is a predatory game, ghetto people not only need to know about it but also need to acquire some measure of competence in it (even if not deliberately) in order to use it when necessary to exploit others or defend themselves against exploitation by other people (see also Schulz,1969,pp.85-87). Other writers suggest that successful hustlers are culture heroes and role models in the ghetto (Haley,1966; Keil,1967; Milner,1970; Perkins,1975; Wolfe,1970).

Three features of hustling are pertinent to the issue of ghetto children's school performance. The first is the philosophy of hustlers which reverses conventional work ethic by insisting that one should "make it" or achieve success in terms of money and power by not working, by not holding a regular conventional job, especially under white employers (Foster,1974,p.37; Milner,1970,pp.118-132; Wolfe,1970,p. 157). The "work ethic" of hustling arose from the reality of black

"survival skills and defensive reactions needed to 'make it' in the streets (Silverstein and Krate,1975,p.183)."

A second feature of hustling which may adversely affect school performance of ghetto children is the hustler's perception of society and social interactions as a game and of people involved as players. The hustler and the pimp define society and social interactions as a game where everyone is a player. The stakes involved in the game are the same as those valued by the white middle-class American: money and power. But hustlers and pimps differ from the white middle class on the rule of behavior for achieving these goals. To the hustler there are two kinds of people involved in the game: those who game (i.e., hustlers and pimps who exploit) and those gamed on (.e., the exploited). Using this model of society and social interaction as guide the hustler obtains his money through his ability to manipulate and exploit people; the pimp obtains his money through his exploitation of women (Milner,1970).

Some authors suggest that the conception of social interaction as gaming begins to influence ghetto children's classroom behavior about the middle of the elementary school years or even a little earlier (Silverstein and Krate,1975,p.173). The majority of the children probably share this conception but only a few actively initiate classroom contests based on it. Foster (1974) describes a wide range of"testing" or "survival" games the children play on teachers and schoolmates. These include verbal games, "putting someone on" or "hype", and "working" game (i.e., outright hustling). These games are not directed toward manipulating teachers into giving higher marks for classwork as is the case in games played by suburban

white children on their teachers (Foster,1975,pp.,5, 180). Rather, ghetto children play their games to gain and maintain prestige,to "save face," to get money and other material things, and to placate teachers. These games frequently lead to classroom disruptions and discipline problems, and to a kind of "power contest" between teachers and students (Silverstein and Krate,1975,p.173). Foster (1974,pp.2-5) suggests that ghetto classrooms are governed by rules of testing games which are little understood by teachers. As a result not much teaching and learning takes place until a teacher wins the contest or earns respect of his or her students by establishing control of the class.

To play these games successfully requires extraordinary degree of manipulative skills, the third feature of the hustling strategy relevant to the problems of educability among ghetto children. The specific instrumental competencies that enable the hustler to play his game successfully include "intelligence" or "smartness;" perceptiveness and good judgement; styles and independence mixed with a good deal of distrust in interpersonal relations; manipulative skills in interpersonal relations; verbal ability and manipulation; daring or display of "heart"; role playing and indifference (Ogbu, 1980h).

Hustling requires a special communicative competence: a good knowledge of hustling argot and its proper use to manipulate a situation or people for material gain or to achieve and maintain prestige; to avoid difficulty, and to accommodate and manipulate authority (see Fostr,1974; Haley,1966; Hammond,1965; Milner,1970; Perkins, 1975). Being skilled in verbal contest and manipulation (e.g., at 'ribbin', shuckin' and jivin', at woofin', signifyin',

playin' the dozens, toastin', etc.) is an asset in gaining prestige among peers as well as indispensable in all hustling which views social interaction as a transaction where one should take advantage of others while being on guard at being "put in a trick" (Silverstein and Krate,1975,p.110). Expressive language helps demonstrate that one has a "heart," or that one is courages. Skills in certain forms of body movement (e.g., in walking styles), modes of dress, and expressive language show that one has the "style" to maintain prestige among peers. Furthermore, as a predatory activity using interpersonal relationship for monetary and other gains, hustling discourages strong interpersonal attachments because those involved never know when they will be "put in a trick"(Hammond, 1965,pp.9-11; Heard, 1968 p.35; Milner,1970,p.180; Silverstein and Krate,1975).

Because hustling is an essential feature of ghetto culture, we suggest that children begin to learn it, or, at least begin to learn about it during their preschool years, just as they begin to learn other survival strategies during the same period. Many become more exposed to this strategy as they get older and begin to participate in street peer-group activities where hustling may be a matter of everyday occurrence (see H. Rap Brown, 1969; Foster,1974,p.40; Kochman, 1972,p.152; Silverstein and Krate,1975,pp.243-44, 171ff; Perkins,1975). Ghetto children may learn how to hustle from adults or older members of the family, from relatives, from peers and other street people and even from attending church religious services (Hickerson, 1980). They also learn about hustling from community gossips about the exploits and fortunes of particular hustlers. Field studies in Detroit (Schwartz and Henderson,1964), Harlem (Gordon,1965, cited

in Poussaint and Atkinson,1973,pp.176-77), and elsewhere show that ghetto children as young as 9 years of age already know that hustling is a strategy for subsistence and self-advancement in the ghetto. Estimates indicate that the majority of ghetto children, especially boys,eventually participate in street corner activities where hustling is taught and learned. Hustling contributes to the educability problems of young ghetto children because they often arrive at school with potential conflict between hustling requirements and those of schooling.

THE COMMUNITY/HOME INFLUENCES & FOLLOW THROUGH

Summary:

There are gross and subtle mechanisms through which the dominant group and the schools foster school failure in the ghetto. But our focus in this paper has been on community and home influences. We have tried to show how various responses black people have made to the job ceiling and inferior education historically imposed on them affect their children's ability to learn in school. First, because blacks continually fight against the schools they have grown suspicious of the schools and their resulting alienation makes commitment to and perseverance at academic tasks difficult. Second, black people's disillusionment over the job ceiling also makes it difficult for them to develop serious attitudes toward schooling and to develop strong commitment to and perseverance at academic tasks. Third, various survival strategies blacks have developed to cope with their economic and social problems often demand attitudes, competencies and behaviors that are apparently incompatible with those required for school success. For example, collective struggle teaches blacks that they

are not responsible as individuals for their failures, including school failure, and that failure is the fault of "the system;" clientship teaches them that reward does not depend so much on personal efforts at an assigned task as on one's ability to manipulate the powers that be; and hustling emphasizes the virtues of exploiting and manipulating others to achieve desired material success and/or prestige. These are an integral part of ghetto culture, cultural knowledge and worldview that children learn and bring with them to school.

What Can Be Done?

Our analysis suggests to us three prerequisites for reversing current pattern of ghetto school performance. The first is recognizing that a castelike stratification involving blacks and whites has existed and still exists in many respects in the United States. A second is recognizing that the disproportionate school failure is a kind of adaptation (perhaps now to some extent a maladaptation?) to the stratification. It has been created and maintained not only by the policies and actions of the dominant group and the schools but also by the responses of blacks themselves to their status positions. Ghetto school failure is a collective problem, although it is difficult to convince Americans of this because of strong ideological or cultural preference for individual explanation and remediation. A third prerequisite is recognizing that real change--the reversal of current pattern of ghetto school performance so that future generations of ghetto children will not need massive remedial programs like Head Start, Follow Through, Compensatory Education,etc.--depends on opening up decent job and other adult futures for ghetto people, not just on patching up individual child's and individual parent's supposed past

or present "deficiencies."

Nevertheless, for now there is a need for and value in programs like Follow Through. In this context we conclude with the following suggestions. First, parent involvement component of Follow Through should be expanded to include building a better understanding between the program (and schools) and the community; the focus should go beyond involving individual parents whose children participate in the program. Second, many ghetto children need to learn how to go to school, and Follow Through program can be designed to teach them this: how to study; how to persevere at academic tasks; how to see or make connections (if there are any) between schooling and decent futures; how rewards in terms of school marks are related to study efforts; how hardwork and decent grades will further their education and subsequently lead to a decent adult future; how the amount of time put into schoolwork can promote school success; the importance of regular school and class attendance; etc. Third, the instrumental competencies and rules of behavior for achievement of various ghetto survival strategies should be studied carefully and systematically to see if and how they can be harnessed for school teaching and learning, at least as a temporary measure.

Finally, the black or ghetto community has an important part to play. Follow Through needs a new kind of support from the community, a support which should be expressed in the form of a new pragmatic, albeit utilitarian, attitude toward school learning or the Chinese-American style. (We challenge researchers to come up with data supporting the assumption that Americans who do well in school are people who seek education as an end in itself, i.e., who seek education

merely to satisfy curiosity or self-fulfilment as in the pursuit of a hobby). Rather than continually castigating "the system," the message that the black/ghetto community should emphasize for its children is to work hard, to persevere, and to get from "the system" as much as they can--the highest school marks, the highest and best "credentials" (i.e., certificates, diplomas, degrees,etc.)--not only as a "put down of the mainstreamers and a demonstration of their abilities by beating them at their own game, but particularly because with recent changes or anticipated changes in the job ceiling and other barriers, school success is becoming an important "survival strategy" for "making it." This internal,cognitive,revolution or reorientation is both complementary to and necessary for Follow Through and similar programs to really succeed in their ultimate objective of improving the academic achievement of ghetto children.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aberle,D.F. Culture and Socialization. In F.L.K.Hsu (Ed.).Psychological Anthropology. Evanston: Dorsey Press, 1962.

Aberle,D.F. The Influence of Linguistics on Early Culture and Personality Theory. In R.A. Manners and D. Kaplan (Eds.), Theory in Anthropology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1968, pp.303-317

Aberle,D.F. and Naegele,K.D. Middle-Class fathers' occupational role and attitudes toward children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,1952, 22:366-378.

Acker,J. Women and Social Stratification: A case of intellectual sexism. In J. Huber,(Ed.), Changing Women in a Changing Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973,pp.174-183.

Baldwin,J. Letter from a region of my mind. New York Time Magazine (November 17,1962),p.5.

Baratz, J.C. and Shuy,R.W.(Eds.), Teaching Black Children To read. Washington,D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Barry,H.111, Child,I.L. and Bacon,M.I. Relation of Childtrainig to Subsistence economy.American Anthropologist,1959,61:51-63.

Benham,L. Nonmarket returns to women's investment in education.In C. B. Lloyd (Ed.), Sex Discrimination and the Division of Labor. New York: Columbia University Press,1975, pp.292-309.

van den Berghe,P. Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective. New York: Wiley, 1967.

Berreman,G.D. Social Inequality: A Cross-Cultural Paradigm. Unp. Ms. Department of Anthropology, University of California,Berkeley,1977

Berry,J.W. Ecological and cultural factors in spatial perception. Canadian J. of Behavioral Science Review,1971,3(4):324-337.

Bloom, B.S., Davis,A. and Hess,R. (Eds.), Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation. New York: Holt, 1965.

Boykin,A.W. Reading Achievement and the Social-Cultural Frame of Reference of Afro American Children. A paper presented at NIE Roundtable Discussion on Issues in Urban Reading, Nov. 19-20, Washington,D.C.,1980.

- Psychological/Behavioral Verve in Academic/Task Performance:A Pre-Theoretical Consideration. Journal of Negro Education,1978, 47:343-54.

Brimmer,A.F. Economic development in the black community. In Eli Ginzberg and R.M.Solow,(Eds.), The Great Society: Lessons for the Future. New York: Basic Books,1974,pp.146-73.

Broman,S.H., Nichols,P.L. and Kennedy,W.A. Preschool I.Q., Prenatal and Early Developmental Correlates. Hillsdale,N.J.:Lawrence Erlbaum Associates,1975.

Broussard,V. Categorical Aid Programs and the Desegregated Schools: A Positon Statement. Unp. Ms.,Sacramento: California State Dept of Education, 1971.

Brown,C. Manchild in the Promised Land. New York: Macmillan,1965.

Brown,D. The Life and Loves of Mr. Jiveass Nigger. New York: Fawcett, 1969.

Brown,H.Rap, Die,Nigger, Die! New Y ork: Dial Press, 1969.

Bullock,H.A. A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Bullock,P. Aspirations vs. Opportunity: "Careers" in the Inner City. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1973.

Burger, H.G. "Ethno-Pedagogy": A Manual In Sensitivity, With Techniques For Promoting Cross-Cultural Teaching By Fitting Ethnic Patterns. Albuquerque. New Mexico: Southwestern Cooperative Educ. Lab,Inc.1968

Burkey,R.M. Racial Discrimination and Public Policy in the United States. Lexington,Mass: D.C. Heath, 1971.

Clement,D.C. and Livesay,J.M. The Development of Black Community Influence in a Southern School District. Unp. Ms. Dept of Anthropology, University of North Carolina,Chapel Hill,N.C., 1980.

Cohen,R. Social stratification in Burnu. In A. Tuden and L. Plotnicov (Eds.), Social Stratification in Africa. New York: The Free Press 1970.

- Some aspects of institionalized exchange: a Kanuri example. Cahiers d'etudes Africaine,1965,5:353-69.

Coleman, J.S. et al.Equality of Educational Opportunity.Washington,D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,1966.

Collins,T.W. and Noblit,G.W. Stratification and Resegregation:The Case of Crossover High School,Memphis,Tenn. Final Report, NIE Contract Grant 400-76-009. The National Institute of Education, Washington,D.C. 1977.

Connolly,K.J. and Bruner,J.S. Introduction. In K.J. Connolly and J.S. Bruner (Eds.), The Growth of Competence. London: Academic Press, 1974,pp.3-7.

Cohen,Y.A. The Shaping of Men's Minds: Adaptations to the Imperatives of Culture.In M.L.Wax, S.diamond, and F.O.Gearing,(Eds.), Anthropological Perspectives on Education. New York: Basic Books,1971.

Coolidge,M.R.Chinese Immigration. New York:Arno Press, 1969.

Davis, A., Gardner,B.B. and Gardner,M.R. Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class.(Abridged Edition), Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1965.

Dennis,L.A. The Hustler. Black America,1972,2(6):16-18.

DeVos,G.A. Japan's Outcastes: The problem of the Burakumin. In B. Whitaker (Ed.), The Fourth World: Victims of Group Oppression.New York: Schocken Books, 1973,pp.307-327.

Dollard,J. Caste and Class in a Southern Town.(3rd Ed.), Garden City, New York:Doubleday,1957.

Drake,St.C. and Cayton,H.R. Black Metropolis : A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City. vols,1& 2. New York: Harcourt,1970.

DuBois,W.E.B. The Philadelphia Negro. New York: Schocken Books, 1967.

Duncan,O.T. and Blau,P.M. The American Occupational Structure. New York: Wiley,1967.

Epstein,C.F. Positive Effects of the multiple negative: Explaining the success of black professional women.In J.Huber(ed.), Changing Women in a Changing Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973,pp.150-73.

- Woman's Place. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Farmer,J. Stereotypes of the Negro and thier relationship to his self-image. In H.C. Rudman and R.L.Featherstone (Eds.), Urban Schooling.New York: Harcourt,1968.

Feagans, L. The Development and Importance of Intraconversational Narrative in School-Age Children: Implications for Research and Programs. Unp. Ms.

Folb,E.A. Runnin' Down Some Lines: The Language and Culture of Black Teenagers. Cambridge,Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Fong,S.L.M. Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans Journal of Social Issues,1973,29:115-127.

Foster,H.L. Ribbin', Jivin', and Playin' the Dozens: The Unrecognized Dilemma of Inner-City Schools. Cambridge, Mass:Ballinger,1974.

Foster,G.M. Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.,1967.

- The dyadic contract: A model for the social structure of a Mexican peasant village. American Anthropologist,1961,63:1173-1193.

Frazier,E.F. Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States. Washington,D.C.: American Council on Educatio n, 1940.

Gibson,M.A. Approaches to Multicultural education in the United States: Some conceptions and assumptions. Anthropology and Education Quarterly,1976,7:7-18.

Glasgow,D.G. The Black Underclass: Poverty, Unemployment and Entrapment of Ghetto Youth. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.

Goldberg, M.L. Socio-psychological issues in the education of the disadvantaged. In A. Harry Passow (Ed.), Urban Education in the 1970s. New York: Teachers College Press,1971, pp.61-93.

Gould,W.B. Black Workers in White Unions. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Greene, L. and Woodson,C.G. The Negro Wage Earner. Washington,D.C. The Association for the Study of Negro Life & History,Inc. 1930.

Gumperz,J.J. Conversational Inferences and ~~the~~x classroom Learning. In J. Green and C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnographic Approaches to Face-to-Face Interaction. Ablex Publ. Co.,1980.

Guthrie,J.W., Kleindorfer,G.B., Levin,H.M. and Stout,R.T. Schools and Inequality. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1971.

Haley,A. The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove Press,1966.

Hammond,B.E. The Contest System: A Survival Technique. Dept of Socio/Anthrop.,Washington Unversity, St. Louis,Mo.Unp. Ms., 1965.

Hannerz, U. Southside. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Hannerz,U. Another look at lower-cla-s black culture. In Lee Rainwater (Ed.), Soul: Black Experience. Chicago: Aldine,1970,pp.167-186.

Hare,N. Recent Trends in the occupational mobility of Negroes,1930-1960: An intra-cohort analysis. Social Forces,1965,44:166-73.

Haskins,R. Race, Family, Income, and School Achievement. Unp. Ms.,1980.

Heard,N.C. Howard Street. New York: Dial Press,1968.

Henderson,V.W. Region, race, and jobs. In A.M. Ross and H. Hill (Eds.), Employment, Race and Poverty. New York: Harcourt,1967,pp. 76-104.

Herrnstein,R.J. The I.Q. in the Meritocracy. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973.

Heyneman,S.P. Why Impoverished children do well in Ugandan schools. Comparative Education,1979,15(2):175-185.

Hickerson,R. Survival Strategies and Role Models in the Ghetto.Unp. Ms.,Department of Educatioin, U.C. Berkeley,1980.

Higgs, R. Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Hsu,F.L.K.

Hu nt, J.McV. The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty:Papers on the Role of Early Education. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969.

Huntsman,J. Personal communication. Dept of Anthropology, University of Auckland, New Zealand, Oct. 8, 1979.

Inkeles,A. Society, Social structure, and child socialization. In J.A. Clausen (Ed.), Socialization and Society. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.11968a,pp.73-129.

- Social structure and the socialization of competence. Harvard Educational Review Editors, Socialization and Schools.Cambridge, Mass,: Harvard University Press, 1968b,pp.50-68.

Ito,H. Japan's outcastes in the United States. In G.A. DeVos and H. Wagatsuma (Eds.), Japan's Invible Race. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967,pp.200-221.

Jensen,A.R. How much can we boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement? Harvard Educational Review,1969,39:1-123.

Johnson,C.S. Shadow of the Plantation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

- Backgrounds to Patterns of Negro Segregation. New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1943.

- Growing Up in the Black Belt. New York: Schocken Books, 1941.

Kain,J.F. Race and Poverty. Englewood Cliffs,N.J.:Prentice-Hall,1969.

Kaplan,D. and Manners,R.M. Culture Theory. Englewood Cliffs,N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. ,1970.

Katzman,D.M. Before The Ghetto. Urbana: University of Ill. Press,1973.

Keil,C. Urban Blues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1966.

Kerber,A. and Bommarito,B. "Preschool Education for the developing Cortex." In A.Kerber and B. Bommarito,(Eds.), The Schools and Urban Crisis. New York: Holt,1965,pp.345-49.

Kingston,

Kochman,T. Rappin' and Stylin' Out. Chicago: University of Illinois Press,1972.

Labov,W. Language in the Inner City. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Ladenburg,T.J. and McFeely,W.S. The Black Man in the Land of Equality. New York: Hayden Book Co., 1969.

Lee,F.F. Negro and White in Connecticut Town. New York: Bookman,1961.

Legg,K.R. Patrons, Clients and Politicians: New Perspectives on Political Clientelism. Berkeley: Institute of International

Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

LeVine,R.A. Dreams and Deeds: Achievement Motivation in Nigeria. Chiago: University of Chicago Press,1967a.

- Father-child relationship and changing lifestyles in Ibadan, Nigeria. In Horace Miner,(Ed.),The City in Modern Africa. New York: Praeger, 1967b.

Levitan,S.A. The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach To Poverty. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,1969.

Lewis, A. Power, Poverty and Education: An Ethnography of Schooling in an Israeli Town. Forest Grove,Oregon: Turtledove Publ.Co.,1979.

Lewis, D.K. Schooling, Literacy and Sense Modality. Unp. Ms.,U.C. Santa Cruz, Dept of Anthropology,1979.

- The black family: socialization and sex roles.Phylong,1976,36:221-37.

Lewis, H. Blackways of Kent. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,1955.

Little,A. and Smith,G. Strategies of Compensatory Education: A Review of Educational Projects for the Disadvantaged in the United States. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development,1971.

Maquet,J. Rewanda Castes. In A.Tuden and L. Plotnicov (Eds.),Social Stratification in Africa. New York: Free Press,1970,pp.93-124.

Marshall,R.F. Industrialization and Race relations in the Southern United States. In L.A. Ferman et al (Eds.), Negroes and Jobs. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,1968,pp.28-52.

Mayeske,G.W.et al. A Study of the Achievement of Our Nation's Students. Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Pringing Office, 1973.

McCord,W. et al. Lifestyles in the Black Ghetto. New York: Norton,1969.

Milner, C.A. Black Pimps and Their Prostitutes: Social Organization

and Value Systems of a Ghetto Occupational Subculture. Unp. Ph.D. Dissertation, Dept of Anthropology, U.C. Berkeley, 1970.

Mitchell-Kernan,C. Signifying, Loud-talking, and Marking. In T. Kochman (Ed.), Rappin' and Stylin' Out. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972,pp.315-335.

Mead, M. From the South Seas. New York: W. Morrow,1939.

Miller, D. and Swanson,G. The Changing American Parent. New York: Wiley,1958.

Meriweather,L. Daddy was a Number Runner. Englewood Cliffs,N.J.: Prentice-Hall,Inc.,1970.

Myrdal,G. An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. New York: Harper,1944, 2 vols.

Nobles,W.W. and Traver,S. Black parental involvement in Education: The African connection. In Child Welfare and Child Development: Alton M. Childs Series. Atlanta,Ga: Atlanta Univ. School of Soc. Work, 1976,pp.23-36.

Norgren,P.H. and Hill,S.E. Toward Fair Employment. New York: Columbia University Press,1964.

Ogbu, J.U. Cultural Discontinuities and Schooling. A paper presented at a symposium: Beyond The Classroom: Influences of Home,Community and Work on Learning, 79th Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, Dec.3-7,1980, Washington,D.C.,1980a.

- Societal Forces As A Context of Ghetto Children's School Failure. To Appear In: Lynne Feagans and D.C. Darran (Eds.), The Language of Children Reared in Poverty: Implications for Evaluation and Intervention.

- Literacy among Subordinate Minorities: The Case of Black Americans. Unp. Ms.

Ogbu,J.U. Origins of Human Competence: A Cultural Ecological Perspective 1980d. (In press, Child Development, June,1981).

- Ethnoecology of Urban Schooling. 1980e.(In L.Mullings,Ed.:Urban Anthropology in the United States. Columbia University Press,In press).
- School Ethnography: A multi-level approach, 1980f. (In press, Anthropology and Education Quarterly, spring,1981).
- A Cultural Ecology of Ghetto Competence. Unp.Ms.,1980g.
- Social Stratification and Socialization of Competence. Anthropology and Education Quarterly,1979a, 10(1).
- An Ecological Approach to Minority Education. Unp. Ms.,1979b.
- Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective. New York: Academic Press,1978a.
- Minority School Performance as an Adaptation. Unp. Ms.,1978b.
- Education, Clientage, and Social Mobility: A Study of Caste and Social Change in the United States and in Nigeria, 1978c.(In press, In G.D. Berreman,Ed.: Social Inequality: Comparative and Developmental Approaches. Academic Press, 1981).
- Racial Stratifiaation and Education: The Case of Stockton, California. IRCD Bulletin,1977, 12(3):1-26.
- The Next Generation. New York: Academic Press, 1974a.
- Ascribed Inequality and Social Policy: A paper given at the meeting of Carnegie Council on Children, Jackson, Miss. May,2,1974b.

Passow,H.A.(Ed.), Education in Depressed Areas. New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

Perkins,E. Home is a Dirty Street. Chicago: Third World Press,1975.

Porter,J.D.R. Black child, White child: The Development of Racial Attitudes. Cambridge,Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Poussaint, A. and Atkinson,C. Black youth mand motivation. In E.C. Epps (Ed.), Race Relations: Current Perspectives. Cambridge,Mass;: Wintrhrop,1973,pp.167-177.

Powdermaker, H. After Freedom: A Cultural Study o in the Deep South. New York: Atheneum.

Rainwater,L. Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Families in Federal Slum. Chicago: Aldine Publ.Co.,1974.

Ramirez,M. 111,et al.New Approaches to Bilingual Education. Austin, Tex: Bilingual Resource Center.

Ramirez, M. and Castenada,A. Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development and Education. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Ransom,R.L. and Sutch,R. One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation. New York: Cambridge University Press,1977.

Raper,A.F. Preface to Peasantry. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,1969.

Rees, H.E. Deprivation and Compensatory Education: A Consideration. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co,1968.

Rogoff,N. Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility. Glencoe,Ill:Free Press,1953.

Rose,E.J.B. Color and Citizenship. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969.

Rosen,B.C. Race, Ethnicity and The Achievement Syndrome. In B.C. Rosen, H.J. Crockett and C.Z. Nunn,(Eds.), Achievement in American Society. Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman,1969,pp.131-154.

Ross,A.M. and Hill,H. (Eds.), Employment, Race and Poverty: A Critical Study of the Disadvantaged Status of Negro Workers from 1965 to 1965. New York: Harcourt, 1967.

Ross, A.R. Negro Employment in the South, vol.3: State and Local Governments. Washington,D.C.: U.S. Govt Printing Office, 1973.

Rystrom,R. Dialect Training and reading: A Further Look. Reading Research Quarterly,1970,5:581-603.

Schemer,G. Effectiveness of Equal Employment Opportunity Legislation. In H.N.Northrup and R. Rowan (Eds.), The Negro and Employment Opportunity. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965m,pp.67-107

Scherer,J. and Slawski,E.J. Hard Walls--Soft Walls: The Social Ecology of An Urban Desegregated High School: A Report. Washington, D.C.: The National Institute of Education, 1977.

Schmidt, et al.

Schulz,D.A. Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialzation. Englewood Cliffs,N.J.: Prentce-Hall, Inc. ,1969.

- Variations in the Father Role in Complete Families of the Negro Lower Class. Social Science Quarterly,1968,49:651-59.

Schwartz,M. and Henderson,G. The Culture of unemployment: Some notes on Negro Children. In A.B. Shostak and W. Gomberg (Eds.), BlueCollar World. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp.459-468.

Scott,J.C. The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Scott,J.W. The Black Revolt: Racial Stratification in the U.S.A. Camrbidge, Mass: Schenkman, 1976.

Sennett, R. and Cobb,J. The Hidden Injuries of Class. New York: Random House, 1972.

Shack, W.A. On Black American Values in White America: Some Perspectives on the Cultural Aspects of Learning Behavior and Compensatory Education. Paper prepared for the Social Science Research Council: Sub-Comm. on Values & Compensatory Educ.,1970-71, 1970.

Shimahara,N. Burakumin: A Japanese Minority and Education. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff,1971.

Siegal,P.M. On the Cost of Being a Negro. In J.F. Kain (Ed.), Race and Poverty. Englewood Cliff,N.J.: Prentice-Hall,1969,pp.60-67.

Silverstein,B. and Krate,R. Children of the Dark Ghetto: A Developmental Psychology. New York: Praeger,1975.

Simons, H. Black Dialect, reading interference, and classroom interaction. In L.B. Resnick and P.A. Weaver (Eds.), Theory and Practice of Early Reading, vol.3,. Hillsdale,N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Asso.,1979.

Sims, R. A psycholinguistic description of miscues created by selected young readers during oral reading of text in black dialect and standard English. Unp. Ph.D. dissertaion, Wayne State University1972

Spicer, E.H. Patrons of the Poor. In J. Friedl and N.J. Chrisman (Eds.), City Ways. New York: T.Y. Crowell,1975,pp.416-427.

Stanley, J.E C. (Ed.), Preschool Programs for the Disadvantaged:Five Experimental Approaches to Early Childhood Education. Baltomore, Md: Johns Hopkins University P Press, 1972.

Stewart, W.A. On the Use of Negro Dialect in the teaching of Reading. In J. Baratz and R. Shuy (Eds.), Teaching Black Children To Read. Washington,D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

Tow,J.S. The Real Chinese in America. New York: Academy Press, 1923.

Turner,R.H. Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School Systems. American Sociological Review,1960,35(5).

Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Employment, The Job Crisis for Black Youth. New York: Praeger, 1971.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women. Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Cencus, Statisitcal Abstract. Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Toward A Social Report. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969.

United States Government, National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, A Report. Wasington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

Valentine, B. Hustling and Other Hardwork: Lifestyles in the Ghetto. New York: The Free Press, 1979.

Vaughn-Cooke,F.B. Research Recommendations for the Urban Reading Study. Presented at NIE Roundtable Discussion on Urban Reading Problems, Nov. 19-20, 1980, Washington,D.C..

Webster, S.W. The Education of Black Americans. New York: John Day,1974.

White, B.L. The Origins of Human Compentence. Lexington,Mass: Heath,1979.

White, S.H. et al, Federal Programs for Y oung Children: Review and Recommendations, vol.1: Goals and Standards of Public Programs for Children. Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,1973.

Willie, C.V. Relative Effect of Race and Social Class on Family Income. In C.V. Willie (Ed.), Caste and Class Controversy. New York: General Hall, Inc. , 1979, pp.50-68.

Wilson, W.J. The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Prrss, 1978.

Wolfe,T. Radical Chc and Mau-Mauing The Flack Catchers.New York: Strauss and Giroux, 1970.

Wright,N. (Ed.), What Black Educators ARe Saying. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1970.

Young, V. A black American Socialization Pattern. Am. Ethnologist, 1974,1(2):415-431.

- Family and Childhood in a Southern Negro Community. American Anthropologist, 1970, 72:269-88.